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# A MEMOIR

OF

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

# SIR GARNET J. WOLSELEY,

K.C.B., G.C.M.G., D.C.L., LL.D.

BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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OF

# THE SECOND VOLUME.

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# SIR GARNET WOLSELEY.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE RED RIVER EXPEDITION.

The Red River Expedition—The Organization of the Force, and start for Thunder Bay—The Road thence to the Shebandowan Lake—Down the Lake, and across the "Portages" to Fort Frances—Running the Rapids of the Winnipeg River to Fort Alexander—The Arrival at Fort Garry—Success of the Expedition—Return to England.

EARLY in 1870, the troubles on the Red River became of so pressing a nature that the Dominion Government, with the consent of the Home Colonial Office, determined on sending an Expedition to restore the Queen's authority in that Settlement. The consensus of public opinion pointed to Colonel Wolseley, who was exceedingly popular among all classes of the Canadians, and in an especial degree commanded the confidence of the Militia, as the fittest officer to lead a combined force of Regulars and Volunteers, and Major-

General the Honourable James Lindsay* accordingly nominated him to the command of the Red River Expedition.† After eighteen years' service, Colonel Wolseley found himself entrusted with supreme command, thus, at length, being afforded the opportunity

* On the abolition of the Divisional commands at Montreal and Toronto, and the withdrawal of all British troops from the Dominion to Halifax, General Lindsay had proceeded to England, and at this time held the post of Inspector-General of Reserve Forces, only returning to Canada to organise and despatch the Red River Force, and to make the necessary arrangements on handing over to the Dominion Authorities the Government Military buildings and *matériel* of war.

† In writing this portion of the Memoir, we are indebted to the following sources:—The late Captain Huyshe's valuable work, "The Red River Expedition;" to a succinct and lucid "Narrative" published in "Blackwood's Magazine," which has peculiar claims on our confidence; to the private journal of Mr. Matthew Bell Irvine, C.B., C.M.G., the able officer in charge of the Control Department of the Expedition; to that officer's official "Report on the Red River Expedition of 1870;" to Colonel Wolseley's "Correspondence relative to the recent Expedition to the Red River Settlement: with Journal of Operations"—both these latter being in the Blue Book presented to the Houses of Parliament. Also to a Paper read before the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, on the 15th of March, 1871, by Lieutenant H. S. H. Riddell, 60th Rifles; and to a Lecture delivered at the Royal United Service Institution, on the 20th of January, 1871, which appears in No. 62, Vol. XV., of the Journal of that useful Institution. The value of this last paper will be enhanced by the fact that, though having Captain Huyshe's name on the title page, the first part, treating of the origin of the Expedition and organization of the Force, was written by the gallant leader of the Expedition, who, when he came to describe its actual conduct, resigned the preparation of the remainder of the article to his late aide-de-camp.

of achieving distinction for which, as an ambitious soldier, he had long been sighing.

The Red River Territory, the inhabited portion of which, called the Red River Settlement, now forms a portion of the province of Manitoba, is a large tract lying nearly in the centre of British North America, and receives its name from the Red River, which crosses, at about the 97th meridian of west longitude, the 49th parallel of latitude, which, from the Lake of the Woods westward to the Rocky Mountains, forms the artificially-defined frontier between the United States and the British possessions. Fort Garry—which is situated close to Winnipeg, the capital, on the left bank of the Red River, where it is joined by the Assiniboine—is only sixty miles from the frontier, and therefore is easily accessible to United States' citizens desirous of fomenting troubles, or to disloyal British subjects. Owing to its geographical position, the Settlement is completely isolated from the outside world, as the nearest railway station in Canada is nine hundred miles distant, as "the crow flies," and the railway system of the United States is also some hundreds of miles to the southward. The inhabited portion, or Settlement, is merely the strip lying along the banks of the Red River, and of its affluent, the Assiniboine; its population, at the beginning of 1870, exclusive of Indians, numbered about 15,000 souls, a large proportion of whom were French "half-breeds," as the descendants of European fathers and

Indian mothers are called. In religion the people of the Settlement were tolerably evenly divided between Protestant and Roman Catholic, and the votaries of both these Christian sects boasted the possession of a bishop. Monseigneur Taché, the Papal ecclesiastic, who was at Rome in 1870, had his palace and cathedral, together with a nunnery and school, at St. Boniface, just opposite Fort Garry, on the other side of the river; while Bishop Macrae—whose conduct throughout the disturbances which gave rise to the Expedition, was in favourable contrast to that of his Roman Catholic *confrère*, and of two of his chief clergy, Fathers Lestane and Richot—held his ministrations in a church a few miles down the river. There was also a Presbyterian clergyman, the Reverend Mr. Gardiner, to whose active services the Expedition was more particularly indebted for much of the success with which the difficulties of the Winnipeg River were surmounted.

The Red River Territory had long been under the rule of the Hudson Bay Company, which, in 1670, had received a charter from Charles II. granting them sovereign rights over a vast extent of country, the geographical limits of which were not clearly defined. After many years of fruitless negotiations between Canada and this great trading community, a "three-cornered arrangement was arrived at, England acting as a sort of go-between, by which the vast territories, officially known as Rupert's Land, together with all

territorial rights, were first transferred, on paper, to this country, and then made over, by royal proclamation, to the Confederation of the North American Provinces, which paid to the Hudson Bay Company the sum of £300,000, the transfer to take effect from the 1st of December, 1869. It appears that in these negotiations the people of the Red River Settlement, who were of course the parties chiefly concerned, were never consulted by either the Canadian statesmen or the directors of the Hudson Bay Company sitting in London. They, and the French half-breeds in particular, naturally resented such cavalier treatment, and when, in 1869, the Canadian Government sent thither a surveying party, some eighteen half-breeds, under Louis Riel, compelled them to quit the country.

The Dominion Government nominated to the post of Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. W. McDougall, but the people refused to acknowledge him, and, on the 24th of November, Riel took possession of Fort Garry, and assumed the Presidency of the so-called "Republic of the North-West." The Canadian Government then sent Mr. Donald Smith to Fort Garry as Special Commissioner, but his mission proved abortive. Riel now conducted himself with great violence, and, on the 4th of March, caused to be executed, by sentence of a sham court-martial, a man named Thomas Scott, who formed one of a party of loyal English and Scotch half-breeds, who had attempted to effect the release of some sixty British subjects illegally confined in

Fort Garry. Scott's execution aroused a feeling of intense indignation throughout Canada, and particularly in the province of Ontario, to which the man belonged. Resolutions were passed at public meetings held in Toronto and other towns, calling upon the Government to despatch an Expedition to the Red River to restore the Queen's authority and punish the murderers, and the Press of Ontario were unanimous in preaching up the crusade. The French Canadians, on the other hand, sympathised rather with Riel than with the cause of order, and when, subsequently, a call for recruits was made for the Militia battalions about to be despatched to the Red River, only eighty French Canadians responded to the appeal, while ten thousand men might have been enrolled in Ontario, had their services been required.

In the meantime, Colonel Wolseley had prepared an able Report, in which he entered into minute details regarding the composition, equipment, and organization of the Force, as well as its victualling, clothing, and transport; and, on the 5th of April, Major-General the Honourable James Lindsay arrived in Canada with orders to organize the Expedition in which the Imperial Government had determined to take part. Equally important with the question of the organization of the Expeditionary Force, was the question of its leader, and when it was announced that Colonel Wolseley was to command, there was a chorus of approval from the Canadian public and press, and it was universally felt

that the success of the Expedition was already assured. After a lengthened correspondence by telegraph with the War Office, and by letter with the Governor-General regarding the quota of Imperial troops to be employed, and the share of the expense to be borne by the Home Government, it was decided that the force was to consist of one thousand two hundred men, including detachments of Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, and that the Home Government should bear one-fourth of the charges. The Dominion Government were to raise two battalions of Militia, each of which, as in the case of the 60th Rifles, was to consist of seven companies of fifty men each, with the object of making them more handy for boat service, with three officers per company.

In accordance with a General Order of the 3rd of May, 1870, Colonel Wolseley, accompanied by General Lindsay and several officers of the Expeditionary and Head-quarter Staff, left Montreal on the following day for Toronto to organize the column. Thence they continued their journey, by special train, a distance of ninety-four miles, to Collingwood, on the shores of Georgian Bay, accompanied by Mr. S. J. Dawson, the able executive officer of the Public Works Department, whose services had been placed at Colonel Wolseley's disposal by the Canadian Government.

Many Commanders, after carefully considering the question in all its bearings, would have deemed well-nigh insuperable the difficulties involved in transporting

a large armed force, with all the *matériel* of war, a distance of six hundred miles, through rivers and lakes, and over no less than forty-seven "portages"—a word applied to the breaks in the navigation between two lakes, or between a river and a lake—over which everything had to be "portaged," or carried on men's backs, a necessity which caused a most serious addition to the labours of the route, as the portages varied in length from twenty yards to one and a half miles. Of the entire distance of six hundred miles, forty-eight only—that from Thunder Bay to Lake Shebandowan—was by land transport, over a road only partially constructed by Mr. Dawson. From Lake Shebandowan to Lake of the Woods was a distance of three hundred and ten miles by rivers and lakes, with about seventeen portages, and from thence to Fort Garry was only about one hundred miles in a straight line by land; but, says Wolesley, "there was only a road made for about sixty miles of that distance, the unmade portion being laid out over most difficult swamps. If, therefore, the troops could not advance by that route, as was subsequently found to be the case, the only other way of reaching Manitoba was *viâ* the Winnipeg River, the navigation of which was known to be so difficult and dangerous that none but experienced guides ever attempted it. There were about thirty portages in the hundred and sixty miles extra thus added to the total length of the distance to be traversed."

The distance to Fort Garry might thus have been

shortened by one hundred and sixty miles, had it been possible to adopt the former route, which struck off towards the Fort from the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, but the wisdom of Wolseley's adopting the route by Lake Winnipeg, was amply proved when, on his arrival at Fort Garry, having sent Colonel Bolton to inspect the direct road to the Lake of the Woods, that officer reported that the last thirty-three miles had not yet been cut, and that there were such heavy morasses and thick woods, that only a small body of men could get through.* Considering all the enormous natural obstacles to the transport of stores and warlike *matériel*, Colonel Wolseley exhibited throughout the Expedition, a patience, energy, and forethought that stamp him as a true leader of men. Often during the long and weary march the spirits of his officers and men were seriously affected by the difficulties of the route; more than once it was anticipated by all that the Expedition would have to be abandoned;

* There was a second route to Fort Garry, employed by the Hudson Bay Company, who landed at York Factory in Hudson Bay, and ascended the Nelson River to Lake Winnipeg. This had hitherto been made use of in the conveyance of small bodies of troops, which, on two occasions, under Colonel Crofton and Major Seton, had been quartered at Fort Garry. But these had never exceeded a few hundred men, and the whole resources of the Hudson Bay Company had been placed at their disposal, such as boats and stores, which had been sent for their use. Again, the sea off York Factory is only free from ice about six weeks in the year, and the navigation of the Arctic Ocean is both difficult and dangerous.

but, as we were told by an officer who accompanied Colonel Wolesley, and had the best opportunity of daily judging of his temper and intentions throughout the Expedition, he alone never once lost heart, but was always cheerful and confident, and bent on pushing on.

Between the great water systems of Lake Superior and its tributaries and Lake Winnipeg, was a chain of rugged hills, which approach to within eighty miles of the former, the lowest pass in that locality being eight hundred and thirty-nine feet above Lake Superior. The country between the Lake and Red River was known to be a wilderness of poor timber, lakes, rivers, and rocks, and to be uninhabited except by wandering tribes of Chippewa Indians.

From Collingwood, on Lake Huron, to Thunder Bay, on Lake Superior,* whence this long journey of six hundred miles was to commence, was a further distance of five hundred and thirty-four miles, and the traffic along this line was carried by two steamers, the 'Algoma' and 'Chicora.' It will be seen by a glance at the map that the waters of Lakes Superior and Huron, of which Georgian Bay forms a portion, communicate through a broad channel called St. Mary's River, about fifty miles in length, which forms the boundary between the American State of Michigan and

* The great lake system of America extends one thousand and eighty-five miles in length from Kingston on Lake Ontario to Fort William on Lake Superior, covering an area of eighty thousand square miles, or more than the superficies of Great Britain.

British territory. A canal has been constructed on the American side, by which some rapids in the river can be avoided, but the American authorities not only refused to allow the troops to pass through the canal, but even stopped the 'Chicora,' which quitted Collingwood for Thunder Bay with stores on the 7th of May, so that it became necessary to land everything on the Canadian side of the Rapids, transport it by land across a three-mile "portage," and re-embark it again at the upper end on board the 'Algoma,' which fortunately had previously passed through the canal into Lake Superior. Subsequently, owing to the urgent remonstrances of Mr. Thornton, the British Minister at Washington, this unfriendly order was withdrawn, and a free passage was allowed to all articles not contraband of war.

After inspecting the steamers 'Frances Smith' and 'Chicora,' General Lindsay and Colonel Wolesley returned to Toronto with the captains and agents of these vessels and of the 'Algoma,' and an arrangement would have been concluded with them for the immediate despatch of the troops and stores, but that the Canadian Ministry declined to sanction the tariff agreed upon by General Lindsay and Colonel Wolseley. Hence a delay ensued, and the departure of the Expedition was postponed; but on the 11th of May, General Lindsay concluded arrangements for transport with the Northern Railway and five steamboats.

Colonel R. J. Feilden, of the 60th Rifles, second in

command of the Expedition, was, meanwhile, engaged in raising and organising two battalions of Canadian Militia. The Force, as organized, consisted of:—1st battalion, 60th Rifles, twenty-six officers and three hundred and fifty men, under Colonel Feilden; 1st, or Ontario, Militia, twenty-eight officers and three hundred and fifty men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Jarvis; 2nd, or Quebec, Militia, twenty-eight officers and three hundred and fifty men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Casault; a detachment of Royal Artillery, Lieutenant Alleyne and nineteen men, with a battery of four 7-pounder brass mountain guns; a detachment of Royal Engineers, Lieutenant Heneage and nineteen men; Army Service Corps, twelve men; Army Hospital Corps, eight men. The Staff Officers of the Force were:—Captain Huyshe, Rifle Brigade, and Lieutenant F. C. Denison, Militia, Orderly Officers; Lieutenant-Colonel Bolton, Royal Artillery, Deputy Assistant-Adjutant-General, and Major McLeod, of the Militia, his assistant. Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. McNeill, V.C., 48th Regiment, Military Secretary of the Governor-General, was, at his request, attached to the Staff. Surgeon-Major Young, M.D., was principal medical officer, with a staff of four assitant-surgeons. The chief control officer was Assistant-Controller M. T. Irvine, specially sent from England by the War Office, and who, being a member of a Canadian family, was eminently qualified to direct a Department which threw him so much into personal contact with the civilian element.

Under Mr. Irvine's orders was an efficient staff of six commissaries, and three officers of the lately dissolved Royal Canadian Rifles, and one from the Militia, who were attached for transport duties. The total of all ranks was one thousand two hundred and fourteen, with about four hundred *voyageurs*, and one hundred teamsters. The *voyageurs* were collected by Mr. Dawson, but a large portion of them were found to be utterly ignorant of the management of boats; about one hundred of the number were Irroquois Indians, from villages near Montreal, who were fully capable of navigating boats in rapid water, and indeed without their services, the Expedition could not have been conducted. Two hundred boats were specially constructed under the directions of Mr. Dawson, and were on an average from twenty-five to thirty-two feet long, from six to seven broad, with a draught, when loaded, of twenty to thirty inches, and a carrying capacity of from two and a half to four tons. Their crews, as subsequently arranged, consisted of from eight to nine officers and soldiers, and two *voyageurs*. The boats were fitted with masts and sails, in addition to oars, and with arm-chests for the rifles of the men and officers,* who were armed with breech-loading carbines in lieu of swords. In addition to this "Boat Transport Corps," was the Land Transport Corps, for the carriage

* The luggage of officers, without distinction of rank, was restricted to 90 lbs., including cooking utensils, bedding, &c., which were carried in two waterproof bags.

of boats and stores from Thunder Bay to Lake Shebandowan, which consisted of one hundred and fifty horses, one hundred teamsters, a number of waggons and carts, and about thirty-six draughtsmen.

A multiplicity of articles had to be supplied for the comfort of the men, such as waterproof kit-bags, mocassins, cases of mosquito oil, and veils of fine black netting to protect the face and head from the attacks of flies. The utmost care and forethought were expended in the organization of the little Force, which required multitudinous details for the different species of transport:—by railway, steamer, land carriage, and boats. Colonel Wolseley looked to everything himself, considering no detail too small to engage his time and attention.

Between the 6th and 12th of May, as appears from his Journal, he was busily engaged at Toronto in organizing the Expedition, selecting horses from K Battery Royal Artillery (of which sixty-five were taken) and completing the two battalions of Militia. General Lindsay furnished Colonel Wolesley with instructions for his guidance, in which, however, "the detail of the arrangements for an advance of the Force and transport of stores," were left to his discretion; and, on the 14th of May, when everything was ready for the start, Wolseley issued his "Standing Orders* for the Red River Expeditionary Force," a lengthy and able paper, drawn up under thirty-four heads, which completely

* See Appendix A.

and fully met every requirement as it arose during the long march of six hundred miles.

At noon of the same day two companies of the Ontario Rifles left Toronto for the Sault St. Marie, to form a garrison under Colonel Bolton, and to complete the road across the portage, and get the stores re-shipped on Lake Superior. Owing to telegraphic information from Ottawa respecting Fenian intentions to annoy the Expeditionary Force, Colonel Wolseley sent, on the 16th, two more companies of the Ontario Rifles to join Colonel Bolton's camp, and it is certain that had not Wolseley thus early taken steps to frustrate the purposes of those doughty warriors, who soon afterwards made a raid on the Huntingdon Border, an effort would have been made to destroy the stores accumulated at the Sault, which, had it been successful, would have probably deferred the enterprise for another year. On the 21st of May, Colonel Wolseley, accompanied by his staff, with a company of the 60th Rifles, quitted Toronto amid the hearty good wishes of all classes of the community; the head-quarters and four more companies followed the same day, and the Expedition was now fairly started.

The 'Chicora,' with Colonel Wolseley on board, having landed the troops and military equipment at the Sault St. Marie, and steamed over to the American side to pass through the canal, again re-embarked the soldiers and Colonel Wolseley at the upper end of the Rapids, and, steaming across the broad bosom

of Lake Superior, anchored, on the 25th of May, in Thunder Bay, off the end of the road leading to Lake Shebandowan. On its shores, at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River, is the Hudson Bay Company's post of Fort William, and, about four miles further on, was a small clearing with a few wooden huts and tents which marked the first stage of the march to Fort Garry. The scenery was calculated to have a most depressing effect on the spirits of officers and men, as a great forest fire had recently raged over the country, destroying all vegetation, and leaving only the tall, gaunt, and blackened trunks of the huge trees to greet the eyes of visitors to this desolate shore.

Colonel Wolseley immediately landed, and gave to the spot the name of "Prince Arthur's Landing," in honour of his Royal Higness, who was then serving in Canada with his Regiment, the Rifle Brigade. The troops and camp equipment were disembarked by means of a large "scow,"—a flat-bottomed vessel fifty-two feet long by twenty-two feet broad, drawing only two feet of water when loaded, and capable of carrying fifty tons,—which was towed from the wharf to the steamer, a distance of a quarter of a mile, by a tug. By ten p.m. all the stores and boats were landed, and a camp was cleared on a suitable spot, so that this first day's work was an earnest of many that were to follow.

The following anecdote, illustrative of Wolseley's readiness of resource, and unvarying cheerfulness and *bonhommie*, was told us by one of the heads of depart-

ments. On disembarking from the 'Chicora' at Thunder Bay, it was found that in the hurry of re-embarking the military stores on the Lake Superior side of the Sault St. Marie portage, though the tents and camp equipage belonging to the 60th Rifles and Head-quarter Staff had been brought, all the tent-poles had been left behind. The chief Control Officer had expected an explosion of ill-humour at the oversight, but on reporting the circumstance to Colonel Wolseley with some trepidation, was met with a hearty laugh, and the query, "you have not forgotten the axes too?" Receiving a reply in the negative, he promptly added, pointing to the primeval forest around the landing-place, "Then you can help yourself to as many tent-poles as you require." This cheery way of regarding a simple omission had the best possible effect among the officers and men, and encouraged them to exert themselves and merit the confidence of a chief who only encountered difficulties to overcome them. Wolseley's experience as an old campaigner was of essential service in a way that would never have entered into the philosophy of a general officer of the Horse-Guards type. His domestic arrangements, as regards kit and cooking utensils, were identical with those of the other officers of the Force, and thus it happened that to Lieutenant Riddell, of the 60th Rifles, was relegated the duty of cooking the dinner of the Commander. This young officer, though very accomplished, had no personal knowledge of the most important of all the arts, so

that when he came to cook a piece of pork, all his efforts ended in failure. The fire had gone out and the subaltern was abusing the pork for not boiling, when a *deus ex machinâ*, in the person of the Chief, made his appearance. Equally at home making the pot boil, or planning and executing an arduous military Expedition, Wolseley set to work, and, says Riddell, "he showed me, in the scientific manner of an old campaigner, how to dig a trench in the ground, and with stones and sticks to construct a fender over it, on which to place my cooking utensils; and the result was that when dinner-time approached, a hard tough mass of over-boiled meat was fished out of the pot, with the assistance of a forked stick, and served up with tea and biscuit, as the mid-day repast of the officers." Later on, fresh bread and meat were issued daily, officers and men having the same rations, and the salt pork, which was sent out from England, was husbanded for the line of march where live cattle could not be had.

Encouraged by the example of a leader who could turn his hand to anything, officers and men cheerfully set to work the day after their arrival, clearing roads, establishing the depôt for supplies, a hospital for the sick, and a redoubt to repel an attack from the Fenians who had openly expressed their intention to destroy the depôt when the troops had set out on their long march for Fort Garry.

Early on the morning following his arrival at Thunder Bay, Colonel Wolseley, accompanied by Mr. Russell,

the engineer employed during the Spring upon the construction of the road to the Shebandowan Lake, started off on horseback to inspect its condition. He returned at noon of the following day, having ridden and inspected the road as far as it was practicable for teams, some thirty-one miles out of the fourty-four intended to be constructed, a footpath only being designed for the remaining four miles. But there still remained thirteen miles of road to be constructed to the Lake, over a hilly and thickly-wooded country, a business involving considerable time and trouble. When at Ottawa, in the month of April, Colonel Wolseley had been positively assured that the road would be open for traffic by the 25th of May, and on this assurance his calculations had been based.

Writing on the 9th of June, of the results of a second inspection he made of the road as far as its limit at the Oskondagee Creek, some thirty-nine miles, Wolseley says:—"I started from camp on Monday morning, 6th of June, at half-past four a.m., to ride along the road as far as I could. It poured with rain all Monday, Tuesday, and yesterday, up to about four o'clock p.m. At the present moment the road may be said to end at the Oskondagee Creek, seventy-five feet wide. It is still unbridged, but a gang of men reached there on Monday evening to construct a bridge, which will not take long, although there is difficulty about timber, as the fire which raged through these roads for three days has not only destroyed all that had been prepared for

it during the Winter, but also all the large trees in the neighbourhood. For the last eight or nine miles before reaching that creek the road is only a track, and is impassable for loaded waggons in wet weather. My horse was tired out in going over it at a walk." Colonel Wolseley, accompanied by Assistant-Controller Irvine, camped for the night on the bank of the Oskondagee Creek, which is the third of the three rivers that had to be bridged between Thunder Bay and Shebandowan, the others being the Kaministiquia, twenty-two miles from the camp, and the Matawan, twenty-seven miles.

On Tuesday, the 7th, they crossed the creek on a temporary raft, and walked to a hill, which commanded a view of the line of march. It was not reassuring, and Wolseley describes the track a mile beyond the creek, as "execrable." He immediately had a strong gang of men turned on it, and Colonel McNeill, who proceeded a week later to inspect the road, reported that rather more than four miles had been cleared of timber, and a rough waggon-road formed; the remaining mile to the "Dam Site," and the further portion of three miles to the Lake, had not been touched. He reported also that the whole line of road had suffered much from the recent heavy rains, and between the Matawan and Oskondagee Creek, there were places one and two miles in extent that would be impassable for horse transport for a week or ten days at least. Added to this, the carts provided were found to be useless for carrying supplies, and the road was so bad that when ten new

waggons and some farmers' carts, with teams and drivers complete, arrived from Collingwood, it was found that the horses could only drag loads of one thousand pounds in each waggon. Matters looked very gloomy for the success of the Expedition, and those best qualified to judge, laughed at the idea of the Force reaching Fort Garry, so as to return by September. On the other hand, while the Home Government had given positive instructions that the Regular troops must, if possible, be back in Canada before the Winter set in, every mail from the north-west brought clamorous appeals for help from the loyal inhabitants, who were ground down under the reign of terror inaugurated by Riel and his associates. Under these adverse and conflicting circumstances, Colonel Wolseley preserved his equanimity, and spoke confidently of ultimate success.

Directly after his first inspection of the road on the 25th of May, on finding its condition and the progress made so unsatisfactory, he turned his attention to another mode of transport. On questioning Mr. Dawson on the feasibility of passing boats up the Kaministiquia* and Matawan Rivers, so as to relieve the land transport, that gentleman did not think the proposal practicable. Mr. McIntyre, the Hudson Bay Company's officer at Fort William, thought otherwise, and placed his *voyageurs* and guides at the commander's

* This Indian word means, according to Sir John Richardson, "the river that runs far about."

disposal. Wolseley, accordingly, selected Captain Young, of the 60th Rifles, an officer of energy and resource, to make the attempt with thirty-four men and six boats. Captain Young left the camp early on the 4th of June, and, his boats having been towed to Fort William, began to pull up the Kaministiquia River, which falls into Thunder Bay at that point. They poled and tracked along the river, or marched by the side, while the Indians took the carvel-built boats up the Rapids until they arrived at the foot of the picturesque Kakabeka Falls, some one hundred and twenty feet in height, where the Indians cut a portage road, about one thousand seven hundred and fifty paces in length, upon the completion of which the soldiers, who had been employed, meanwhile, transporting stores across the portage, carried the boats up to the top of a rocky hill at an angle of at least forty-five degrees. On the following morning they had to cross another portage one thousand one hundred paces in length, and, after crossing a third, halted for the night. On the 8th of June, he met Colonel Wolseley, who, after riding over the road as far as Oskondagee Creek, descended the rapids of the Kaministiquia River in a canoe in order to see what progress Captain Young had made. Wolseley was delighted to find that his project to relieve the land transport was feasible, and, having directed Captain Young to proceed up to the Kaministiquia Bridge—a structure three hundred and twenty feet long and eighteen broad, and supported on eight

arches — and continue the route by boats as far as Matawan Bridge, he continued his journey to the camp by the river route. After crossing four more portages, three of which were respectively seven hundred, five hundred, and four hundred paces long, Captain Young arrived at Kaministiquia Bridge on the 10th of June, and, on the 12th, reached Matawan Bridge, with his men and stores in perfect condition, thus conclusively proving, notwithstanding the gloomy prognostications of Mr. Dawson and other "experienced" persons, that the water route was practicable, and that the word "impossible" was unknown in the vocabulary of the gallant Commander of the Red River Expedition. Colonel Wolseley determined to send the whole of his boats by this route, and to devote his land transport to supplies, and Mr. Dawson acceded to this arrangement, but declined the assistance of soldiers, as he had plenty of *voyageurs*.

In the meanwhile, on the 27th of May, the steamers 'Algoma,' 'Brooklyn,' and 'Shickluna,' arrived with troops, and so well did every one work that the 'Algoma' was cleared, and left the same evening for the Sault with Colonel Wolseley's despatches. Two companies of the 60th Rifles marched out of camp the following morning, to be employed as working parties at Kaministiquia and Matawan Bridges, for the purpose of forming depôts for stores, and the remainder of the Force were busily occupied turning Prince Arthur's Landing into a miniature Balaklava, without its chaotic confusion; and, as the work progressed, more de-

tachments of troops were sent from Thunder Bay, those in advance proceeding towards Lake Shebandowan. By the 19th of June there were thirty-five days' rations for one thousand five hundred men in depôt, either at Kaministiquia or Matawan Bridges, and Colonel Wolseley reported:—"When I have one hundred, or even eighty boats on the lake, and provisions for one thousand five hundred men for sixty days there, I shall move off by detachments. I am still in hopes of being able to leave Fort Frances for Fort Garry on the 1st of August."

On the 31st of May the steamship 'Clematis' arrived with the detachments of Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, and the battery of four 7-pounder bronze guns, with the necessary ammunition. These guns each weighed two hundred pounds, being fifty pounds more than the famous Abyssinian "steel pens," but one of the carriages was found to be decayed, and two were left behind in the redoubt. On the 3rd of June, Wolseley despatched to the Matawan Bridge, the first four boats mounted on platforms set on the wheels of waggons. On reaching the river the boats were launched and moored—a wise precaution, which secured them against the ravages of a fire which, just at this time, swept over the country between Lake Shebandowan and the Kaministiquia Bridge, destroying all the stores and huts, though fortunately the bridges were saved. The weather during all this time was wretched in the extreme, and officers and men worked daily in

their wet clothes. Notwithstanding this, and the hardships they endured, the health of the camp was most satisfactory, a result due, doubtless, to Colonel Wolseley having strictly prohibited the use of spirits, which was an unknown luxury in the camp, save in the form of "medical comforts."

On the arrival of the remainder of the troops at Prince Arthur's Landing, Colonel Wolseley inspected the two Militia Regiments on the 20th and 21st of June, and expressed himself well pleased with their turn-out. The progress made in the construction of the road, was, however, unsatisfactory, as the most difficult part of the route—that from the Matawan to Lake Shebandowan—still remained unfinished. Colonel Wolseley, accordingly, started on horseback from the camp on the 21st of June, and rode over the whole road three miles in advance of the Oskondagee Creek, and fourteen miles from the Matawan Bridge, returning at ten a.m. on the 23rd, after an absence of forty-eight hours, having ridden that morning from the Matawan Bridge, a distance of twenty-seven miles. He says in his Report, he found the road between the Matawan and Oskondagee, at many places, "even in fine weather, practically impassable for waggons;" and that "no horse transport in the world could stand having to get over such places, as the horses would be knocked up in a few days." On his arrival he wrote to Mr. Dawson, requesting him to employ all his men to "cut a branch road of one mile from the main road to the river, at a

point about four miles from the Matawan Bridge; also to put all his strength of workmen on this mile, and on the five miles from Oskondagee Creek to the Dam Site." He also settled the arrangements for the transport of stores as follows:—By horse teams from the camp to the Matawan Bridge, a structure two hundred and sixteen feet long, and eighteen broad, supported on five piers; thence by boats two miles further along the road to a point named Young's Landing, where the river leaves the road; thence by ox teams to Calderon's Landing, for a distance of two miles up the road, and one mile along a branch road then being cut to the river; thence up the river to Oskondagee Creek by boats; thence to the Dam Site, a distance of five miles, by ox teams; and finally, thence up the river to McNeill's Bay on the Shebandowan Lake, in flat-bottomed boats, a path for the troops being cut through the woods for this last four miles. The obstacles to be overcome, even in this preliminary portion of the route, seemed insurmountable; but Wolseley was confident and cheerful, and, though it was not till the first week in July that the branch road to Calderon's Landing, and the road to the Dam Site were fit for traffic, he would reply to all queries of when the start would be made:—"As soon as I have one hundred and fifty boats and two months provisions at the Lake."

On the 29th of June, General Lindsay arrived at Prince Arthur's Landing; and, on the following day, after inspecting the Militia Regiments, accompanied by

Colonels Wolseley and McNeill, he rode over the whole road as far as the Dam Site, and thence proceeded to the Shebandowan Lake in a canoe, arriving at camp in the evening of the 3rd of July, by the Kaministiquia River, having left the Matawan Bridge in a canoe at six a.m. that day. At daylight on the same day, under Colonel Wolseley's orders, sent from the Matawan Bridge, the head-quarters of the 60th Rifles, under Colonel Feilden, who had shortly before arrived from the Sault, marched from Matawan; and, on the following day, the Ontario Rifles quitted the camp for the Kaministiquia Bridge. The General passed four parties poling and portaging up the river, and in his ride to the Dam Site had to swim his horse across Sunshine Creek, so that when he quitted Thunder Bay, on his return to Toronto, he was enabled to form his own opinion of the well-nigh insurmountable difficulties the Expedition had to contend with before it could be brought to a successful conclusion.

Another even more welcome visitor at Prince Arthur's Landing than General Lindsay was Mrs. Wolseley, who unexpectedly arrived in one of the transport steamers, returning to Toronto after a brief visit of a few days.

Before finally quitting the camp for the front, Colonel Wolseley drew up in French and English a "Proclamation to the loyal inhabitants of Manitoba," which he entrusted for delivery to the hand of Mr. Donald Smith, who had arrived at Fort William on his

way to succeed Mr. McTavish as Governor of the Hudson Bay Company's posts. He also sent copies of this Proclamation,* which was dated the "30th of June," to the Protestant and Roman Catholic Bishops, and to the Hudson Bay Company's officer at Fort Garry, and letters requesting them to take measures for pushing on the road from Fort Garry to the Lake of the Woods, although it was well known that it could not be completed in time for the use of the troops. This ruse of Colonel Wolseley's succeeded admirably, for on his arrival at Fort Frances, he learned that Riel had placed armed men on the look-out in the neighbourhood of the spot where he thought the disembarkation on the shores of Lake of the Woods would take place.

While at Thunder Bay Colonel Wolseley had an

* It was couched in the following terms :—"Her Majesty's Government having determined upon stationing some troops amongst you, I have been entrusted by the Lieutenant-General commanding in British North America to proceed to Fort Garry with the troops under my command. Our mission is one of peace, and the sole object of the Expedition is to secure Her Majesty's sovereign authority.

"The Force which I have the honour of commanding will enter your province, representing no party, either in religion or politics, and will afford equal protection to the lives and property of all races and all creeds. The strictest order and discipline will be maintained, and private property will be carefully protected. All supplies furnished by the inhabitants to the troops will be duly paid for. Should anyone consider himself injured by any individual attached to the Force, his grievance shall be promptly inquired into.

"All loyal people are earnestly invited to aid me in carrying out the above-mentioned objects."

opportunity of being introduced, for the first time, to the Red Indian of Fenimore Cooper's novels, and very different he found him from the ideal limned by that picturesque, but untrustworthy, writer. The party consisted of "Black Stone," a Chippewa, or Ojibbeway chief, two of his tribe, and a squaw—ugly, dirty, half-naked savages, who came ostensibly to express their loyalty to the "great mother," but in reality to get what they could, and report what was going on to their tribe. Indeed, Black Stone's sole claim to the picturesqueness of garb, with which we are accustomed to accredit these creations of the novelist, lay in his having "tied round his head a mink-skin, from which at the back stood up a row of eagle's feathers, with here and there an ermine-tail hanging from them," while the influences on his condition of advancing civilisation, were only discernible in the fact that he boasted the possession of a piece of soap, with which he was seen furtively smoothing his hair, previous to being ushered into the presence of the Chief of the "pale-faces." Colonel Wolseley received the Indians with great politeness, and reassured them as to his intentions regarding their lands, and they took their departure on the 6th of June, thoroughly satisfied with their reception and the presents they had received.

On the 5th of July, Colonel Wolseley moved his head-quarters to the Matawan, which, in the Indian tongue, means "fork." Starting at 5 a.m., he rode twenty-seven miles, and, procuring a fresh horse at the

bridge, went up the road accompanied by Colonel Feilden, a further five miles—as far as the end of "Brown's Lane," where the branch road meets the river. The weather was simply frightful, the rain pouring all day in cataracts, but he cared nothing for this, and, on the following morning, as appears by his Journal, was again in the saddle, "showing the working party of the 60th Rifles where they were to work;" and in the afternoon, "rode off again, accompanied by Colonel Feilden, to Brown's Lane—to see Captain Young off with the three boats and eighty barrels of pork *en route* to the Oskondagee," whither they proceeded from Calderon's Landing, which is at the end of Brown's Lane. Thus daily he personally saw to the work of making the roads passable for waggons, and it progressed rapidly under his superintendence. The 60th Rifles moved to Calderon's Landing on the 8th of July, the Ontario Militia taking their place at the Matawan, and the Quebec Rifles replacing the latter at Kaministiquia Bridge. For the nonce, the gallant fellows of the 60th Rifles were turned into labourers, and the costume of officers and men did not belie the novel character thus assumed. The only garments worn by all ranks of one of Her Majesty's crack Regiments, were a flannel shirt, with breast pocket for handkerchief, and uniform trousers, with Canadian mocassins and a felt helmet. What would Sir George Brown, and others of "the old school," have said on learning "that the officers, who

have been going up and down the river with boats, all wear the sleeves of their shirts tucked up, and their arms are as black as negroes, some have their shirts open, with their breasts exposed. At night we all wear red or blue nightcaps."

On the 14th of July, head-quarters were moved to the camp at the Dam Site, about seventeen and a-half miles beyond the Matawan Bridge; but the road to the Oskondagee Creek was still almost impassable, and "for a few miles was nothing but a track through the woods." "The teams that took in the ammunition," says Mr. Irvine, in his Journal, "have returned with others along this road, with ninety shoes off sixty horses. The teamsters state it was all the horses could do to drag the empty waggons, the bed of the waggon being constantly in the mud, and the horses up to their bellies." For the past few days, owing to over-exertion, and being constantly all day in wet clothes, Colonel Wolseley was very unwell, suffering much from diarrhœa; but still at 4 a.m. on this 14th of July, he finally quitted his camp at the Matawan Bridge, and rode to the camp at McNeill's Bay. On the following evening, after sending off his letters, he walked down to the wharf to superintend the despatch of the first detachment of troops in the boats on the Shebandowan Lake. Discarding the yet unfinished road for the transport of stores, he had for some time been employing the Irroquois Indians in taking up boats and stores from Ward's Landing to McNeill's

Bay, a distance of three miles, and having no less than six rapids.*

The night of the 15th of July was signalised by a storm of thunder, lightning, and rain of exceptional severity, even after their experience of twenty-three days' rain since the 1st of June; and the only accident that happened during the Expedition, and one that was nearly proving fatal to the Commander, occurred on this night. In the middle of the storm, a tree close to where Colonel Wolseley was sleeping, fell and crushed a boat. The tempest, which raged over the whole of Canada, was most destructive, great numbers of men and cattle being killed,

The morning of the 16th of July broke bright and clear, and when Colonel Wolseley arrived at McNeill's Bay at five in the evening, it seemed hopeless to expect the fulfilment of his determination expressed long before—that the start *must* be made on that day. Mr. Dawson, ill-assisted, had done all that lay in the power of one man; the Irroquois Indians and the

* Infinite trouble and delay had been caused by the uselessness of most of the so-called *voyageurs*, some of whom had been picked up indiscriminately from the streets of Toronto, and had never seen either a canoe or a rapid. To guard against the Force being encumbered by these loafers, Colonel Wolseley, on the 14th of July, addressed a letter to Mr. Dawson, directing that none but skilled *voyageurs* would be permitted to embark on the boats. He says: "Only two classes of men can be allowed in the boats, viz., the soldiers constituting the Red River Force and the skilled *voyageurs* capable of managing boats and of instructing the soldiers how to do so."

soldiers had worked indefatigably, overcoming the difficulties of the road and transport and fitting out their boats with their gear; but still much remained to be done. Wolseley, however, was resolved to be as good as his word, even if the men had to work till midnight, and, by half-past eight, p.m., the first three brigades of boats, seventeen in all, containing two companies of the 60th Rifles, under Captains Young and Ward, also the detachments of Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, the whole commanded by Colonel Feilden, were ready moored in the bay. As they moved off on their long journey of five hundred and sixty miles, the *avant garde* of the Red River Force, the waters of that silent and sequestered American lake resounded with rounds of hearty British cheers, which were caught up and echoed back no less warmly by their comrades who watched the dip of the oars until the shades of evening hid from their sight the quick-retreating flotilla.

It must have been a proud and happy moment for the Commander when, turning from the wharf, after the last sound of oars had died away in the distance, he walked to his tent; and the extreme beauty of the evening, doubtless, appeared to his sanguine mind a happy augury for the success of the undertaking on which he had embarked. The Reverend R. J. Pattison, Chaplain of the Force, gave expression to a pleasant *bon mot*, when, in the words of the opening stanza of Virgil's famous epic, he exclaimed, "*Arma virumque*

*cano*," which he rendered by a *very* free translation into "arms, men, and canoes."

The whole Force was divided into twenty-one brigades, which were distinguished by the letters of the alphabet, the brigades consisting of six boats, each of which carried, besides the necessary stores, about nine officers and men, and two *voyageurs*. Of the total number of one hundred and fifty boats, thirty-one, constructed in Quebec, were "carvel built," sixteen being rigged with "sprits," and the others with lug-sails; the remaining one hundred and nineteen boats were "clinker-built."* All were fitted with two masts, and six oars were generally used, Colonel Wolseley having had large numbers of wooden tholepins specially made by the carpenters at the camp at Ward's Landing, to supply the place of iron rowlocks, one thousand of which were expected in the 'Algoma,' but had not yet arrived. The boats and *voyageurs* not required for the conveyance of troops, were employed in forwarding a reserve of supplies to Fort Frances, at the head of Rainy Lake. The brigades of boats—lettered from A to X, omitting J, U, and W—followed each other daily in quick succession, the 60th Rifles first, then the Ontario Rifles, and lastly, the Quebec Rifles.

On the 1st of August, the last brigade had left; and,

* A boat is said to be "clinker-built" when the planks overlap each other, and "carvel-built" when the planks are all flush and smooth, the edges being laid close to each other, and caulked to render them water-tight. The latter were found to be stronger and more serviceable.

on the 3rd, Colonel McNeill, who had remained to superintend the embarkation, quitted the Bay called after him. On this day the leading brigades had reached Bare Portage, one hundred and fifty miles ahead, the others being scattered along the intermediate space; but as arrangements had been made for communicating and sending either backwards or forwards, and as Colonel Wolseley himself proceeded in a canoe well manned by Indians, going from one detachment to another, as he considered necessary, all were well in hand, and under his control for concentration at any time, should circumstances have required it. Few guides were forthcoming, but the officers commanding brigades had been furnished with maps, which, however, were far from accurate. The boat with the Army Hospital and Army Staff Corps, under Mr. Mellish, carried also the equipment of a field hospital, consisting of bell tents for thirty-six men, a field bakery for Fort Frances, and medical comforts and stores. In addition to the minimum of sixty days' rations per man, provisions sufficient to last the Force until the 30th of September, were carried in the boats. The fresh meat supply, which had been served out hitherto, was, of course, discontinued; but Colonel Wolseley arranged with Mr. Dawson to send on to Fort Frances, by the 15th of September, twenty thousand rations complete.

The old Hudson's Bay canoe route was by Dog Lake, but the new route, first discovered by Mr. Dawson, which was that now adopted, passed through

Lakes Shebandowan and Kashaboiwe, then crossed, by one of the lowest passes, the "Height of Land,"—as is termed the water-shed which, rising gradually from Lake Superior to a height of between eight hundred and one thousand feet, forms the line whence the streams diverge to the west and north, or to the east, —and, turning westward into Lac-des-Mille-Lacs, there joined the old canoe route, which it followed for the remainder of the way to the Red River.

On Saturday, the 23rd of July, Colonel Wolesley, accompanied by Mr. Irvine, his soldier-servant and eight *voyageurs*—six Irroquois and two French Canadians—making eleven in all, quitted the camp at Ward's Landing in a bark canoe; and, on its being equipped at McNeill's Bay for the voyage, started at half past four the same afternoon, having first seen off two brigades of the Ontario Militia. The weather was remarkably beautiful, and the light bark canoe quickly sped over the nine miles that intervened between the point of departure and the first camping-ground on the north shore of the lake. The camp equipment consisted of a small tent for the officers, and a bell tent for the men; and the first camp was pitched at half-past six, just as it was growing dusk. All the north shore of the lake was devoid of trees, the fires having swept over it for many years; almost everywhere the bare rocks cropped up, and blackened trunks were visible, but they managed to select a spot covered with raspberry bushes, and greatly enjoyed a feast of the ripe fruit.

At half-past three a.m., on the following morning, the small camp was astir, and, an hour later, after a frugal repast of hot tea, pork, and biscuits,—the Commander throughout the Expedition having the same rations as the private soldier—the party embarked, arriving a little before eight at the first portage, the Kashaboiwe, where they found a jam of four brigades, which gave an earnest of what might be expected in crossing the remaining portages on the long journey of five hundred and sixty miles. This portage was a very stiff one, and nearly one thousand five hundred yards in length; and the labour of transporting the boats, stores, camp equipment, ammunition, and sixty days' provisions carried by the Force, was excessive.*

* The following was the method adopted of crossing these portages: "On arrival at the portages," says Wolseley, "the boats were at once drawn into the shore as close as possible, and unloaded, the stores belonging to each boat being put into a separate pile. These were covered over with tarpaulins, if the time was too late for work; or if—as was always the case with the leading detachment, consisting of three brigades—the road over the portage had to be opened out, and rollers for the boat laid down upon it. At other times, the men began to carry over the stores without delay, piling them in heaps, one for each boat, at the end of the road. The ordinary method in vogue with Indians and experienced *voyageurs* for carrying loads is by means of a long strap, about three inches wide in the centre, where it is passed across the forehead, but tapering off to an inch in width at the ends, which are fastened round the barrel or parcel to be portaged. Men accustomed to this work will carry 400lbs., and some 500lbs., across the longest portage, the loads resting on the upper part of the back, and kept there by the straps going round the forehead. The great strain is thus upon the neck, which has to be kept very rigid, whilst the body

A little after eleven Colonel Wolseley was in his canoe, paddling up the Kashaboiwe Lake, about nine miles in length, and, before two, reached the head of the Lake, which is studded with beautifully wooden islands. Between it and the Lac-des-Mille-Lacs lies the high land forming the water-shed between the Hudson's Bay and the Gulf of St. Lawrence—Lac-des-Mille-Lacs discharging its waters into the former, and

is bent well forward. As it could not be expected that soldiers untrained to such labour would be able to carry loads in that manner, short pieces of rope, with a loop at each end, were supplied to the boats, by means of which two short poles—cut in the woods at the portages as required—were easily converted into a very efficient hand-barrow, of just the dimensions required for the conveyance of the small barrels in which our flour and pork were packed. After, however, a little practice, a large proportion of the men soon learned to use the common portage strap, their officers setting them the example by themselves carrying heavy loads with it. As soon as all the stores were conveyed across the portage, the boats were hauled ashore and dragged over, their keels resting on small trees felled across the path to act as rollers. The labour involved by hauling a heavy boat up a very steep incline, to a height of about one hundred feet, is no child's play. In each boat there was a strong painter and a towing-line, by means of which and the leather portage-strap a sort of man-harness was formed when required, so that forty or fifty men could haul together. Say the portage was a mile long (some were more), and that each man had to make ten trips across it before all the stores of his brigade were got over, he would have walked nineteen miles during the operation, being heavily laden for ten miles of them. At some portages considerable engineering ingenuity was required; small streams had to be bridged and marshy spots to be corduroyed over. By the time our men returned many of them were expert axemen, and all were more or less skilled in the craft of the *voyageur* and American woodsman."

the Kashaboiwe Lake into the latter. The intervening space between these two lakes is about two and a-half miles wide, and there are two small ponds in it. But Wolseley decided to make one portage of all the distance of about nineteen hundred yards, by going up a small shallow creek into the western pond, and landing at the far end of it. This shallow creek was, however, so choked up with reeds, that all the men had to get out of the boats into the water and pull them through.

A paddle of about half a mile brought the party to the camping ground for the night on the north shore of the Lac-des-Mille-Lacs, a fine sheet of water about thirty miles long, and six to ten miles broad, and studded with innumerable islets, through which even the guides have difficulty in steering their way, so that often it is necessary to have recourse to the compass.

Early on the 25th of July, the canoe was under weigh, and, at one o'clock, the "Baril" portage, three hundred and fifty yards long, was reached, the distance from the "Height of Land" portage being twenty miles, though owing to their having lost their way—as did all the boats; that of the correspondent of the *Toronto Globe* for two days—the actual distance traversed was far greater.

After dining they started, at half-past three, on the Baril Lake, which is some nine miles in length; and, three hours later, after a vain search for the Brulé

portage, landed at the south-western extremity of that Lake. On the following day they found the portage, which is five hundred yards long, and although the provisions and stores had to be carried over the whole portage, the boats were taken, for half the distance, through a little creek that runs between Lakes Baril and Windegoostigon (an Indian name meaning "a series of lakes"), which Wolseley reached by proceeding along a narrow winding stream, through a series of small lakes connected by rapids and creeks, fringed with cedar and spruce, and covered with white and golden-hued lilies, forming an enchanting scene of secluded loveliness.

A little after two they arrived at the "French" portage, which is two miles in length, and over steep and rocky hills that would have occupied the brigade three or four days to traverse; but fortunately the river, though long and winding, was found to be navigable, with the exception of some falls, round which Colonel Feilden, whose detachment of the 60th Rifles had the honour of leading all through, had cut a new portage, four hundred and forty yards long, and very steep and rocky. Colonel Wolseley sent his canoe by the stream, which from the portage to the "French Lake" is quite twelve miles in length, and, accompanied by Mr. Irvine and Mr. Dawson, walked the two miles over the old path.

On the following day, they passed down a winding river, about two miles in length, thick with reeds and

water-lilies, which led into Kaogassikok, or Pickerel Lake, some thirteen miles long by two to four broad, at the western extremity of which is the "Pine" portage, where they encamped. As the portage was difficult to find, Colonel Wolseley, on the following morning, returned in the canoe a considerable distance, to "blaze" the trees at every point, in order to show the way to the brigades in rear; and we have been informed by one who had the best opportunity of judging, that the gallant Commander was noted for the judgment he displayed, while passing the islands, in selecting the trees to be blazed, and the dexterity with which he would spring out of the canoe and wield his hand-hachet, leaving a mark in a prominent place that was discernible a long way astern.

After crossing the Pine portage, which is five hundred and fifty yards long, Wolseley proceeded in his canoe over Doré Lake, about a mile across, to the "Deux Rivières" portage, where they found at work the three leading brigades under Colonel Feilden. This was a very stiff portage, some seven hundred and fifty yards long, but Ignace—the "boss," or leader, of the Irroquois, a splendid specimen of the Red Indian, who had accompanied Sir George Simpson and Dr. Rae in their Arctic explorations, and whose serivces throughout the Expedition were beyond all praise—had been at work with ten of his men before Colonel Feilden's arrival, and, by five in the evening, had made an excellent road, in one place crossing a ravine by cutting down and laying

lengthwise some huge pines, over which skids were placed on notches, thus enabling the boats to be transported with ease.*

Wolseley proceeded ahead some distance, and then returned and blazed the way, which was very tortuous and not easy to find, being in one part rocky and shallow, and in another, passing through a marshy creek, overgrown with rushes and lilies.

The route, on the following day, was very intricate, owing to the numerous long bays, but Colonel Wolseley blazed trees at every point and turn. They sailed through Sturgeon Lake, which is about sixteen miles long, and, passing through Tanner's Lake—which empties itself into Lake La Croix, through Sturgeon River, about eighteen miles in length—soon reached the four heavy rapids, "about which," says Colonel Wolseley, "we had heard such a gloomy account at Ottawa from those who professed to know them well. At the first we disembarked the men, when the boats were taken down by the Irroquois. At the second rapid, cargoes as well as men had to be taken out and portaged over a distance of a hundred yards, the boats being then run safely down by the Irroquois. The third and fourth rapids were run with men and cargoes

* "In the centre of the portage," says Lieutenant Riddell, "was a high rock up which a ladder of felled trees had been constructed, and at the sides steps were cut for the men to carry their loads up. Had one of the ropes snapped when hauling the boats up this ladder, the men at work would, doubtless, have received very severe injuries, and the boat been broken to a certainty."

in the boats, the Irroquois steering the boats." Colonel Wolseley left these men at the rapids to navigate the boats of the succeeding brigades, and nailed up a notice at the first rapid, directing all commanding officers to halt until Ignace arrived, and to act precisely as he should direct them.* At six o'clock the head-quarters encamped below Portage de l'Isle, the last of the rapids.

The following day they crossed Tanner's Lake, at the outlet of which are Tanner's Rapids, where everything had to be portaged a distance of one hundred and seventy-five yards, and reached Island Portage, which is about eighty yards across. As the party was strong in Indians, all hands set to work and soon made the road and laid down the skids for the succeeding brigades of boats.

On the 31st of July they followed the course from the south-west extremity of Lac-la-Croix in a southerly

* In going over these rapids, four Indians generally rowed or paddled, while two others, with large-sized paddles, steered, one in the bow, the post of honour, and the other in the stern. "With a rush," says Riddell, "and pulled as hard as the strong arms at work were capable of, the boats entered the rapids. The slightest mistake on the part of the steersman, and they would have been smashed to pieces on the huge rocks that we passed nearer than was pleasant. Everyone worked as for his life; and the wild cries of the Indians as they shouted directions to each other made those looking on from the shore feel certain some accident was going to happen; but the cheers and laughter of the crews, as the boats were pulled into smooth water at the foot of the rapids, soon dispelled the illusion."

direction for six miles, into Lake Loon, then west, and then north into Lake Namekan, where it joined the old canoe route again, thus avoiding all the dangerous rapids. There were, however, three portages, the first two hundred and twenty-three yards in length, the second, three hundred and forty yards, and the third, seventy-one yards. After the gig and canoe were passed over the rapids, the party encamped for the night. On the following day Colonel Wolseley reached Bare Portage, which consists really of two portages, divided by a small pond, and, at four p.m., all hands set to work to make the road over them. The leading brigades of boats arrived soon after eight, when Wolseley started on his voyage up the "Rainy" Lake, a fair stretch of water, fifty miles in length, by about thirty to forty miles in breadth, and encamped at eight, p.m. The following day, owing to a gale, they were again compelled to encamp on an island at the head of Rainy Lake, but the whole flotilla was under weigh at four on the morning of the 4th of August, and descending the Rainy River* for three miles, soon reached

* At the entrance to Rainy River, Wolseley was hailed by a canoe, in which was Lieutenant (now Major) Butler, 69th Regiment, who had arrived at Fort Frances that morning from Fort Garry. He had been sent on a special mission from Canada by General Lindsay; and, after visiting the towns on the south shore of Lake Superior, to learn what prospect there was of the threatened Fenian irruption on the communications of the Expedition, and passing through St. Paul's in Minnesota, he proceeded to the lower fort, near Fort Garry, where he received a visit from Riel. On quitting the Settlement on the 24th of

Fort Frances, "the half-way house" to Fort Garry, the sight of which was hailed with joy by every man in the Force. During the nineteen days that had elapsed since the first detachment quitted McNeil's Bay, they had traversed two hundred miles, having taken their boats and stores over seventeen portages, at all of which they had made good, practicable roads.

Mr. McKenzie, the Hudson's Bay Company's representative, showed his good will in providing, for transport purposes, a most primitively-constructed cart, drawn by an ox, and consisting of a small flooring on two wheels, made of two round blocks of wood, which, however, broke down after the first day's work, when the resources of Fort Frances seemed to be exhausted. This Fort is not a military work, as its name would imply, but is a collection of wooden one-storied houses, standing on the right bank of the Rainy River, immediately below the Falls, which are twenty-two feet high.

Two days after his arrival Colonel Wolseley gave a formal interview, or "pow-wow," to "Crooked Neck," the principal Chief of a large body of Chippewa Indians, who had assembled to see what they could get out of the "pale-faces," and about a dozen of his principal followers. "Crooked Neck" made a very long speech, to which Wolseley replied in brief terms

July, he went up the Winnipeg River, and brought much valuable information concerning the position of affairs at Fort Garry, which Riel openly declared the Expeditionary Force would never reach."

to the effect that he was sorry he had no provisions to give away, as he had only sufficient for his own men, but that next year Goverment would send him presents for helping him through. After a speech made by a second chief, the ceremony concluded, as it had begun, with hand-shaking all round, and they were dismissed with a small present of flour and pork. Colonel Wolseley also gave an interview to another great chief, who presented a grotesque appearance, his face being daubed with different colours, while his coat was a parti-coloured raiment somewhat similar to those worn by Negro melodists.

While at Fort Frances, Wolseley received letters from Henry Price, the chief of the Salteux, or "Swampy," Indians, full of loyalty, and breathing hatred to Riel and his party; and a loyal Canadian, named Monkman, who had been sent from Thunder Bay in June to explore the road from the north-west angle of the "Lake of the Woods" to Fort Garry, also brought him letters from the Protestant Bishop and others, expressing ardent longings for his arrival, as affairs at the Settlement were "in a serious and threatening state." Colonel Wolseley, during his stay at Fort Frances, took advantage of the arrival of the brigades, to weed out the many useless *voyageurs*, who were sent back to Canada. Colonel Feilden's detachment, which arrived at Fort Frances a few hours after him, proceeded the same day over the portage near the Fort, which is only one hundred and seventy yards

long; and Wolseley, after despatching the brigades, as they arrived in succession, up to K brigade, including the whole of the 60th Rifles, and one company of the Ontario Militia—the I brigade of that Corps being left to garrison Fort Frances—started in his birch canoe, carrying fourteen days' provisions, at daylight on the 10th of August, for Fort Alexander, the route to which lay through Rainy River, (seventy-five miles long) Lake of the Woods, (seventy-two miles) and the River Winnipeg, a further distance of one hundred and sixty-three miles.

As Riel was vacillating from day to day between a desire to resist the Force advancing to oust him from power, and a hope that an amnesty for past misdeeds might be extended to him, Colonel Wolseley issued orders to the commanding officers of leading detachments, to approach Rat portage at the entrance to the Winnipeg River, with the greatest care, and to take measures for guarding against a surprise.

He was accompanied, as before, by Mr. Irvine and his servant, with eight Indians, the gig keeping company, with his two orderly officers and a crew of four soldiers and two Indians. As they pushed off below the Falls near Fort Frances, "we were," says Wolseley, "twisted round for some time in every direction, by the numerous whirlpools formed by the falling of such a great body of water into a circular basin, where it acquired a rotary motion. At one moment the boat was going at the rate of about nine miles an hour, the

next it was perfectly stationary, having stopped without any shock, but as suddenly as if it had struck a rock. In some instances, minutes elapsed ere the utmost exertion at the oar, the whole crew pulling their best, could impart the least motion to the boats. Then after some moments of hard pulling, every muscle being strained to the utmost, the boat was released so suddenly that it bounded forward as a spring would which had been kept back by a rope that had suddenly snapped." The Rainy River, which forms the frontier between British North America and the United States, runs a distance of seventy miles from Fort Frances to its *embouchure* into the Lake of the Woods, its breadth varying from three hundred to four hundred yards. The navigation is unbroken except at two rapids, the "Manitou" and "Longsault," about half-way down; and its banks are well-wooded and, with their vistas of glade and forest, present a park-like appearance that reminded the band of Englishmen of the stately homes of their far-distant native land.

The boats successfully passed the two rapids, thirty-two and thirty-nine miles from Fort Frances.*

* A little before sunset a singular flight of insects appeared on the river, described by Wolseley as "nearly white, with grey wings, bodies of a pale yellow, about a half-inch long, having two long feelers running out from the tail, an inch or more in length. They were moving up at a great rate, in a solid column ten feet high, and perhaps thirty broad; the river, as far as the eye could see, both ways, was covered with them, till, at a distance, they had the appearance of a thick mist, but nearer they looked like driving snow or sleet. When the gig

The evening being fine and the moon nearly full, Colonel Wolseley, instead of camping at night, determined to try the plan adopted by the *employés* of the Hudson's Bay Company, of lashing the canoe and gig together, and drifting down the river, all hands turning in except one man in each boat to steer and keep watch. It was pleasant enough, though the limited space cramped the legs, until the rain began to fall, accompanied by a strong westerly wind, and as the boats could make no progress, and the night was pitchy dark, it was decided to run them ashore. A miserable and sleepless night was passed by the occupants of the canoe, who cowered, as best they could, under their waterproofs; and at dawn, dripping with wet and stiff with cold, they were glad to get out of their boat. After some hot tea the party were under weigh, and made a stop for breakfast about two miles from the mouth of Rainy River, at a small trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company, called "Hungry Hall," from the number of men who had, from time to time, nearly died from starvation while quartered there, though it has since received the less ill-omened name of Fort Louisa. Just before his arrival here Colonel Wolseley met a small canoe containing three

pushed out into the river, in the midst of them, they parted in the centre, like a column of fours, to let it go through. It was noticeable that as soon as they touched the water they remained in it, unable to rise. Though this column of flies, for such they appeared to be, flew very quickly, it was from one and a-half to two hours passing the boats."

Indians, who brought letters from Rat portage, announcing the arrival there of six boats purchased by the loyal Protestant laity and clergy of the Red River Settlement of all sects, to help the Expedition down the Winnipeg River. The bearers of the letters were at once utilised as guides, and handed over to the K Brigade, which came up at that moment. Favoured by a fair breeze, which filled their sails, the canoe and gig soon passed along the marshy banks on both sides of the mouth of the Rainy River, from which the wild duck rose in numbers, into the Lake of the Woods,* from the north-west angle of which lay the direct road to Fort Garry, one hundred and fifteen miles "as the crow flies," but only eighty of which was passable for carts, the remainder of the road lying through swamps. Soon they encountered the full force of the gale that was blowing, and some heavy seas that broke over the boats drove them, soon after mid-day, to take shelter on an island, which they named "Detention Island."

The gale continued all that night and the following day; but, at eight p.m., the wind having lulled, the K Brigade started, and, soon after, a canoe arrived bringing mails with Toronto papers to the 29th of July, and London papers of the 15th of July, containing the startling intelligence of the proclamation

* Lake of the Woods is about seventy-two miles long and nearly as many broad, and is divided by clusters of islands into three distinct lakes.

of war between France and Prussia. During the evening two of the large Red River boats arrived, under Mr. Sinclair, bringing letters from Colonel Feilden from Rat portage, and from Bishop Macrae, urging the necessity of at once despatching two guns and one hundred men to Red River. Colonel Wolseley had been chafing all day at his enforced idleness, but to every proposal to proceed, the Indians had assured him that the high sea on the Lake would inevitably break the frail bark canoe to pieces. He could, however, brook delay no longer, so changing places with Lieutenant Denison, one of his orderly officers, he started in the gig in company with Captain Huyshe. Having no guide, they steered by the stars, and, after three hours' hard pulling, made an island at one a.m., on which they bivouacked for the night. Only four hours was allowed for repose, and the gig was then under weigh steering N.N.W. To the eastward lay a group of islands, through which an opening to escape the rough sea was looked for in vain; and to the westward stretched an unbroken expanse of water, with no land in sight. The whole of that day was passed in threading an interminable labyrinth of islands, Colonel Wolseley taking up his station in the bows of the boat, and steering by compass, with the aid of Mr. Dawson's very inaccurate chart. The usual halts were made for breakfast and dinner, and when it was too dark to see, the party bivouacked on an island. At four o'clock on the following morning

Colonel Wolseley was afloat again, hoping soon to reach the Rat portage, which he calculated was only about ten miles distant. He steered north, but found himself in a *cul de sac*, then east, then west, trying every opening amongst the innumerable islands, in the vain hope of making the mouth of the Winnipeg River. It certainly was a very awkward position for the Commander of the Expedition; but, at length, after wandering about hopelessly in the labyrinth of islets and passages, at half-past three an Indian encampment was sighted.

A present of a little tea and biscuit induced the father of the family to embark in his canoe and act as guide, and at eight p.m. on the 14th of August, after one halt in the morning for breakfast, the party in the gig arrived at Rat portage, faint with hunger and fatigue. Here they learned that the canoe and two Red River boats, had arrived from Detention Island early that morning, and that the four remaining Red River boats, in charge of the Rev. Mr. Gardiner, Presbyterian minister, had gone on with the leading brigades, to help them down the dangerous rapids of the Winnipeg River, which could not have been traversed without accident but for these boats and their skilled crews.

Rat portage, at the head of the Lake of the Woods, where there is a Hudson's Bay Company's post, consists of three portages, the Winnipeg River, which is here some three miles broad, finding its way down to the lower level by three distinct waterfalls. The first is not much used. The second, about two hundred

yards further to the south, is three hundred yards long and very rough; it is chiefly used for canoes, and therefore Colonel Wolseley passed over it. The third and regular portage, which is three miles from the post to the south, is one hundred and thirty yards long, and as it is generally used for the Company's boats, Colonel Feilden's and the other brigades passed over it.

Colonel Wolseley remained at Rat portage during the 15th of August, arranging for guides to be sent back to Fort Frances, to conduct the brigades across the Lake of the Woods, and also sent Lieutenant Butler, in a light canoe, to Fort Alexander, at the mouth of the Winnipeg River, to engage guides and send them up to Islington Mission, where the most dangerous part of the river begins. At sunset Colonel McNeill arrived in a canoe, having been only twelve days coming from Shebandowan Lake, and reported all well with the brigades in the rear, which he had passed in succession, having quitted McNeill's Bay two days after the despatch of the X brigade. The mails for Canada being made up and despatched at two p.m. on Tuesday, the 16th of August, Colonel Wolseley, with Mr. Irvine in his canoe, accompanied by Colonel McNeill's canoe, and the gig with the two orderly officers, quitted Rat portage to make the descent of the Winnipeg River.*

* During its tortuous course of one hundred and sixty-three miles, the Winnipeg River descends three hundred and fifty feet by a succes-

Favoured by a fair breeze, the first ten miles, including "Les Dalles" rapids, were run without any difficulty, and tents were pitched for the night about twenty miles from the Rat portage. The fine weather they had enjoyed since their departure from Lake Shebandowan, here deserted them; the night was rainy, with a cold raw fog, and the start on the following morning was made amid rain and a blustering head-wind, but, by dint of hard work at the oars, they quickly ran the intervening distance until the rapids, called "Grand Décharge," were reached; here the stores were portaged, and the boats run down the rapids, with four men rowing and the two Indians steering.

They now passed, in succession, Yellow Mud portage, one hundred and ten yards long, the approach to which is dangerously near the Falls; a pretty little fall of six feet some two hundred yards further, which was run; Pine portage, two hundred and forty yards long, very steep and slippery, which took them an hour to cross; and, a little further on, Cave Rapids, which were run. At three they passed Islington Mission, an oasis in the sterile rocky scenery around, with its fields of yellow corn and green pasturage, and, at thirty-five minutes past six, the little flotilla reached De l'Isle Rapids, which were shot with full cargoes, though great

sion of noble cataracts and rapids, which present scenery of a singularly wild and picturesque character, and, at places, the river expands into large lakes, full of rocky islands, and bounded by precipitous cliffs.

excitement was caused as the plunge was taken, the dexterous Indians guiding the canoe with consummate skill amid the surging waters and boiling eddies that appeared as if they would engulf the frail craft. The party halted at the foot of the Rapids for the night, during which the rain came down with steady persistency, and they were all glad to be off before five, with rain and a bleak cold wind as travelling companions. At noon they reached the "Chute à Jacquot," about twenty miles below Islington Mission, a very pretty fall in a series of terraces, where they met two Hudson Bay boats, carrying supplies for the Company, enormous craft so strongly built that when shooting rapids they are proof against the effects of a bump on a rock. The half-breeds working them had their families with them, and lived chiefly on "pemican," or buffalo meat and fat, dried and then beaten together into a mass, and pressed into bags made of buffalo skin.

Having portaged the canoes and gig, with their cargoes, the party had dinner at the far end of the portage, which is one hundred and fifty yards across, and made their next halt at "Trois Pointes des Bois," which consists of three portages close together, round three very picturesque falls; the portages were three hundred and six, one hundred and ten, and sixty yards long respectively. Eight miles further on lies "Slave Falls," and in a bay, four hundred yards to the right of it, is the portage, seven hundred and fifty yards across,

where the skids were laid for the boats. The canoe portage is round a jutting ledge of rock quite close to the falls, and very dangerous except for skilled boatmen well acquainted with the locality. Colonel Wolseley's Irroquois took his canoe by this portage, though Colonel McNeill's Chippewas, more fearful or prudent, as also the gig and all the boats, proceeded to the regular portage, some five hundred yards above.

Wolseley narrates in graphic terms his sensations on an occasion when his coolness in the presence of danger, was put to almost as severe a test as any he encountered during his adventurous career. He says: —"No length of time, nor any amount of future adventures, can erase from my mind the arrival at the Slave Falls. I was in a birch canoe manned by Irroquois, one of whom acted as guide. The regular portage for boats was several hundred yards from the Falls, and lay in a slack water bay, reached without any danger as long as the boats kept tolerably well in towards the bank on that side. Our astonishment was great at finding the guide take the canoe out into mid stream, where the current ran at an exciting pace, becoming swifter at every yard, until at last, as we approached the vicinity of the Falls, it was palpably evident we were descending a steeply inclined plane. Consoling ourselves at first with the reflection that the guide knew best what he was about, we sat motionless, but, let us confess it, awe stricken, as we swept into the narrow gully at the end of which the great noisy roar

of falling waters, and the columns of spray that curled up like clouds into the air, announced the position of the Fall. We were close to the brink. We appeared to have reached that point which exists in most falls, whence the water seems to begin its run preparatory to a good jump over into the abyss below; and we knew, from having watched many great cataracts for hours, that it was a bourne from whence there was no return. Quick as lightning the idea flashed across us that the Indians had made a mistake, and that everything was over for us in this world. In that infinitesimal fraction of time a glimpse of the countenance of the sturdy bowsman rather confirmed this idea, his teeth appeared set, and there was an unusual look in his eye. All creations of our own heated fancy; for in another second the canoe's head swept in towards the rocks, and was turned nose up stream in tolerably slack water, two of the paddlers jumping out and holding it firmly there. All our poetical fancies were rudely dispersed by a cheer and chorus of laughter from the Irroquois crew. The breaking of a paddle in the hands of either bowman or steerman would have been fatal at that critical moment when we turned sharply into the bank, the stern being allowed to swing round in the heavy stream, and by so doing aid in driving the bow inwards. Nothing could have saved us if such an accident had occurred; yet there were these Indians chuckling over the danger they had just escaped by the exertions of their greatest skill and of their utmost

muscular power. They had needlessly and willingly encountered it, for they could have gained the shore about one hundred yards higher up with comparative ease, and then lowered their canoes through the slack water pools in the rocks along the side, to the place they had only reached with extreme danger. There was no use in arguing with them on the subject; they had confidence in themselves, and gloried in any danger which they felt certain of overcoming." It is not at all improbable, however, that the Indians had a purpose in paddling so perilously near the brink of these dangerous Falls, and that it was done to test the courage of the young Commander, whom every man among the "pale-faces" obeyed and trusted so implicity; and, truly the ingenuity of man could not have devised a more crucial test. To sit calmly in the stern-sheets of a canoe, which, carried away in the mighty vortex of a current running like a sluice, was hurrying over a chasm to, apparently, certain and immediate destruction, and neither by word or gesture to express a sign of fear, was an ordeal of the most trying character. But it was triumphantly endured, and if the Irroquois watched the countenance of the British leader in order to note a change in its habitual expression, they looked in vain, and he preserved the stoicism of a Red Indian at the stake.

That night they encamped below the Falls, away from the two leading brigades of the Ontario Militia, who were portaging their stores; and, on the following

day, the gig and canoes passed the Barrière portage, twenty yards long, the Otter Falls, and the Sept portages. These last are a succession of seven heavy falls, and rapids, with sunken rocks and whirlpools, nearly three miles long, at each of which they had to go through the task of unloading, portaging, and reloading, thus causing excessive labour to the soldiers with the heavy boats.

Colonel Wolseley was astir soon after three on the following morning, raising the camp, as was his wont throughout the Expedition, by the cry of "Fort Garry," shouted in cheery tones at the top of his voice. When they started, soon after four, the prospect before them was of a still more arduous day's work, as Colonel Wolseley expressed his determination to reach Fort Alexander on the 20th of August, and it was known that nothing would turn him from his purpose, when, as President Lincoln used to say, he "put his foot down." Crossing Lac de Bonnet, they passed Galais du Bonnet Portage, one hundred and forty-five yards long, the Second Bonnet, one hundred yards long, the Grand Bonnet, one of the largest portages on the route, being upwards of one thousand three hundred yards in length, and the Petit Bonnet. At one o'clock they were at White Mud portage, two hundred and eighty yards long, and, at a quarter past two, the canoe and two gigs reached the two Silver Falls portage, respectively two hundred, and thirty yards in length, and only divided by about one hundred and fifty yards of slack water.

The Falls are described as most magnificent, the volume of water over the cascades being enormous, and the scenery being, according to Wolesley, "the finest on the river." Embarking again, a further pull of five miles, with two or three difficult rapids, brought them to Pine Portage, the last on the route to Fort Garry, which is about three hundred and fifty yards across. For the last time they embarked, and, pulling over the reach of eight miles, broken by two easily-run rapids, arrived at thirty-five minutes past six on the 20th of August, at Fort Alexander, situated about two miles from the mouth of the Winnipeg, whose rapids they had run, and portages surmounted without the loss of a single boat—a feat, having regard to the dangers of its falls, eddies, currents, and sunken rocks, which cannot be contemplated without admiration at the skilful management of the crews and forethought of the leader.

When expatiating on the dangers of the Winnipeg River, the skilled crews of the Hudson's Bay boats had stated that it would take twenty days to get to Fort Alexander, but the distance was accomplished without accident in exactly half that time: and whereas before the Expedition, says Colonel Wolesley, "we found a general conviction stamped upon the minds of every one of every class that we met, that the British soldier was a fine brave fellow, who, as a fighting-man, was equal to two of any other nation, but utterly useless for any other purpose, such as carrying loads, per-

forming heavy bodily labour, or enduring great physical fatigue, we now bear a very different reputation in those parts, and have left behind us a character for every manly virtue."

Colonel Wolseley was received at Fort Alexander by Mr. Donald Smith, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the soldiers, consisting of the Regular troops, all gathered round the top of the steps leading to the Fort, and gave their leader three ringing cheers. "There was not a sick man," he says, "amongst those collected at Fort Alexander; all looked the picture of health and of soldier-like bearing. Up to the 20th of August, it had rained upon thirteen days in that month. The work had been incessant from daylight until dark, but no murmur was heard. The men chaffed one another about being mules and beasts of burden, but when they saw their officers carrying barrels of flour and pork on their backs, and fairly sharing their fatigues, eating the same rations and living just as they did, they realised the necessity for exertion."

Divine service was performed on the following day, which was a Sunday, by the Reverend Mr. Gardiner, but he tried the patience of his audience by an unconscionably long sermon, which drew from one of the men, who were assembled under arms in the open air and greatly felt the heat, the irreverent remark that "it was worse than a long portage." At three p.m., the advance was sounded, and away down the

Winnipeg River, with a fair wind, sailed the flotilla of about fifty boats.

Colonel Wolseley now quitted the canoe in which he had journeyed from Shebandowan Lake, and led the van, accompanied by Mr. Donald Smith, in one of the large Red River boats. On arrival at the mouth of the Winnipeg River, the flotilla stood out into Lake Winnipeg,* and proceeded to Elk Island, twenty miles from Fort Alexander, where the boats were drawn up on a fine sandy beach. "Fort Garry" was sounded at half-past three a.m. on the following morning, and, thanks to a favouring breeze and fine weather, the flotilla set sail, presenting an imposing appearance, as they sped—

"Through seas where sail was never spread before."

A quick run was made across the southern portion of Lake Winnipeg, to the mouth of the Red River, and, before three, the flotilla was sailing up the centre of the three channels by which it flows into Lake Winnipeg. Colonel Wolseley sent his canoe ahead, with orders to keep a sharp look-out, and report anything unusual or suspicious, and he himself led the boats, which followed in two lines immediately astern of Colonel Feilden. At sunset the Force encamped on the right bank of the river, about eleven miles below the Stone Fort, (or

* Lake Winnipeg has an area of nine thousand square miles, and measures two hundred and sixty-four miles, by an average width of thirty-five. The name signifies in the Chippewa tongue, "dirty water."

Lower Fort Garry) and just opposite the lodges of the Swampy Indians, whose chief, Henry Prince, and a few of the tribe, in their full dress of feathers and paint, paid a visit of ceremony to the British Commander. After the usual compliments they were dismissed with Colonel Wolseley's hearty thanks for their loyalty, accompanied by a substantial present of pork and flour, and every precaution was adopted to prevent the news of the arrival of the flotilla from spreading.

It rained all that night, and the *réveillé* sounded at half-past three, when the men started after the usual cup of hot tea. The flotilla continued its course up the river in the same order as on the preceding day, and received a welcome from all classes, the men cheering, the women waving their handkerchiefs, and the bells of the churches, which are Protestant below Fort Garry, ringing out a merry peal, while the Indians turned out of their camps, and gave vent to their joy by discharging their firearms. At eight o'clock the flotilla reached Stone Fort, which is surrounded by a loopholed stone wall about seven feet high, and consists of a square enclosure with large circular bastions at each angle. No reliable information could be obtained of Riel, though it was pretty confidently anticipated that he would resist if he could get his followers to fight. The boats were lightened of all superfluous stores, and as Colonel Wolseley was anxious to get to Fort Garry, if possible, before dark, only a day's rations were taken. It was necessary to

advance with caution, and Captain Wallace's company of the 60th was detached as an advance guard and flanking party on the left bank of the river, which is here sprinkled with white houses and neat farms. That officer received orders to keep his main body on the road about a quarter of a mile in front of the boats, with connecting files to the river's bank, and an advance party of one section of his company about five hundred yards further ahead; two signal-men, with flags, to facilitate communication with the boats, were also furnished to him. The distance between the two forts being twenty-two miles by road, the company was mounted on ponies and in country carts, and had orders to stop all persons on their way up the river, but not to interfere with those going down the river. Lieutenant Butler was also detached on horseback up the right bank, which is mostly covered with willows, with orders to patrol along the road a little ahead of the boats, and to show himself at intervals. The adoption of these precautions was attended with perfect success, as it was found that, as the troops advanced, the actual appearance of the boats was the first intimation the people had of the arrival of the Expedition, and it was afterwards ascertained that Riel was kept so completely in the dark as to the proximity of the British Force, that though he, in company with O'Donoghue, rode out late that night towards the British pickets, for the purpose of verifying the

rumours that had come to his ear, he returned without having ascertained any certain information.

Colonel Wolseley, embarking in the gig, led the flotilla; the boats, with the two 7-pounders mounted in the bows, proceeded in the same order as before, and everything and everybody was in readiness to give Riel a warm reception in the event of his disputing the passage of the river. The flotilla, without much difficulty, poled and tracked up the Grand Rapids which were child's play after those of the Winnipeg River, but as it was found impossible to reach Fort Garry that night, the camp was pitched on the left bank, about six miles below the fort by road, and about eight or nine by the river. Outlying pickets under the command of an officer, were thrown out on both sides of the river, and a chain of sentries posted, to cut off all communication between the Fort and the settlements in rear of the Force. It rained hard all night, with a strong breeze from the north-west, and it was wretched work turning out on the following morning. "As we bent over our fires at daybreak," says Wolseley, "trying to get warmth for our bodies, and sufficient heat to boil the kettles, a more miserable-looking lot of objects it would be impossible to imagine. Every one was wet through; we were cold and hungry; our very enemies would have pitied our plight." The heavy rain having rendered the road ankle deep in black mud, Colonel Wolseley was obliged to abandon his intention of marching on the Fort, and

before six a.m., amid a torrent of rain, the troops, having struck their tents and breakfasted, embarked in their boats. Captain Wallace's company, which had been on picket all night, again continued its march along the road on the flank, which in places was a sheet of water, through which the men had to wade. About eight o'clock the troops were disembarked at Point Douglas, about two miles from the Fort by land, and between three and four by water, as the river makes a long bend after its junction with the Assiniboine. The soldiers formed up in open column of companies, and plodded on cheerfully through the sea of mud, with the rain beating in their faces. Colonel Wolseley and his staff mounted some ponies brought by the country people. The 60th Rifles led, throwing out skirmishers about four hundred yards in advance of the column; then came the Artillery, with their two guns limbered on to carts, followed by the Engineers, with a company of Rifles as rear-guard. In this formation the column, led by Wolseley and his staff mounted on some ponies, and accompanied by a few loyal inhabitants on horseback, who were useful as scouts and guides, marched over the prairie in rear of the village of Winnipeg, and advanced on the Fort. At this point, messengers who had been sent the previous night to Winnipeg, arrived with the assurance that Riel and his gang were still inside the Fort, and meant to fight. The spirits of the men immediately rose at this announcement, and, as they briskly approached

the Fort, all the appearances pointed to the same conclusion; no flag was flying from the flag-staff, the gate commanding the village and prairie was closed, and there was a gun in position over the gateway, and others in the embrasures bearing upon them. Not a soul appeared to be stirring, and everything looked as if a surprise was intended.

The excitement increased momentarily as the skirmishers quickened their pace. Colonel Wolseley sent Colonel M'Neill and Lieutenant Denison round the Fort to ascertain the state of affairs, and presently they returned with the intelligence that the southern gate was wide open, and the Fort appeared to be evacuated. The disappointment among all ranks was keen and outspoken, for after all his bravado, they had given Riel credit for sufficient courage to try a passage of arms with them, and to be thus deprived of the opportunity of gaining a little honour at his expense, was "very hard lines" on men who, since the 21st of May, when Colonel Wolseley and the advanced guard of the Expedition quitted Toronto, had sailed, and marched, and tugged at the oars, and laboured over forty-seven portages, for a distance of one thousand two hundred miles. However, the *éclat* that would have surrounded the Expedition had Riel caused the expenditure of some powder, with its concomitant of death and wounds, was denied to the troops, and so thus was won a bloodless victory, but one which, nevertheless, having regard to their almost superhuman exertions, must

ever be regarded as shedding an additional lustre on the name of the British soldier.

Amid a continued downpour, the troops entered by the southern gate, when the Fort was found to be empty of its late defenders — Riel, Lepine, and O'Donoghue having ridden off only a quarter of an hour before.* Some field guns, mounted on the bastions and over the gateway in the Fort, were now taken outside, the troops formed up in line near them, the Union Jack was hoisted under a royal salute, and three hearty cheers were given for the Queen, caught up by the people who flocked to the spot, the soldiers finishing by "one cheer more" for their Commander,

* These three ringleaders made their escape by the bridge across the Assiniboine, and crossed to the right bank of the Red River; thence returning to the left bank of the river, by a raft hastily constructed of logs of wood and rails, lashed together by their braces and neckties, they proceeded towards Pembina, in United States' territory. In 1873, Rial was elected by acclamation a Member for Provencher in the Dominion House of Commons, and at the General Election was re-elected by a majority of three to one. There was great excitement at Ottawa when, on the 30th of March, 1874, he went to the clerk's office, took the oath, and signed the Parliamentary roll, but then disappeared. A true bill was found against him on the charge of murder, and a warrant of outlawry was issued by the Queen's Bench, Manitoba, on the 15th of October, 1874, and the Government of Ontario offered a reward of five thousand dollars for his apprehension. His "Adjutant-General," Lepine, who presided over the mock court-martial that tried and sentenced to death the loyal Canadian, Thomas Scott, and commanded the shooting party, was brought to trial at Winnipeg, and condemned to death on the 10th of October, 1874, but the capital sentence was commuted by Lord Dufferin.

under whose leadership this great success had been achieved.

Thus, on Wednesday, the 24th of August, the British flag once more waved over Fort Garry, within twenty-four hours of the time specified by Colonel Wolseley, when he undertook the conduct of the Expedition. Four years later he displayed similar military punctuality in keeping his engagements, when, to the day he designated before leaving Cape Coast, his victorious Army formed up in the main street of Coomassie, to give three cheers for Her Majesty. It certainly is a novel feature in warfare, and one that deserves to be specially recorded, that in two Expeditions, undertaken under circumstances that seemed, in a peculiar degree, to defy the exigencies of time, a General should months beforehand point to the day in the Almanack on which he would be at his goal, and fulfil his engagement in spite of all the difficulties of time, transport, weather, the accidents that await all human undertakings, and the physical obstacles encountered in traversing regions untrod before by any but travellers.

As the men were in a miserable plight from the drenching rain, accommodation was found for all in the buildings inside the Fort. So hurried had been the flight of "President" Riel, who refused to credit the approach of the troops until he actually saw them marching round the village, that the breakfast table was laid, and the late Dictator of the Red River and

his Ministers had only half partaken of the viands that more honest men were destined to enjoy.

Colonel Wolseley was only too glad that Riel had fled, as his capture would have complicated matters in the state of Parliamentary parties; no attempt was, therefore, made to pursue and arrest the fugitives, though they might easily have been captured. Indeed many of the inhabitants offered voluntarily to take Riel and his associates, if he would only authorise them to do so; but to all these applicants the same answer was made, "Go to a magistrate for a warrant, and when obtained, Mr. Smith will provide the means for execution." Wolseley had not been invested by the Canadian Government with civil authority, and though the most influential of the inhabitants requested him to assume the reins of power, with equal good sense and moderation he declined to do so; but, pending the arrival of the new Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Archibald, handed over the conduct of civil affairs to Mr. Donald Smith, who, as Governor of the Hudson Bay Company, was the legal representative of the Government until the advent of his successor. No arrests were made by the military, and the three or four prisoners who were detained when the troops marched into the Fort, were released during the day, there being no warrant out against them, and no sworn information. In fact no proper constables could be procured to execute warrants, and Colonel Wolseley, who acted throughout these somewhat difficult and

unfamiliar circumstances with marked good sense and discretion, positively refused to allow his soldiers to be converted into policemen.

The position of affairs in the interval between the 22nd of August, and the arrival of Mr. Archibald on the 2nd of September, was one requiring delicate management, as the reaction from the state of fear and trembling in which the settlers had lived for the preceding ten months, to one of perfect security, turned the heads of many of them, and there was some trouble in keeping them in proper restraint; also, though the rebel leaders had disappeared, many of their adherents had merely retired to their homes, and loud dissatisfaction was expressed by the loyally-disposed at these rebels being allowed to remain at large. Colonel Wolseley took every precaution to keep the peace, by patrolling the village and neighbourhood of the Fort with armed parties of his soldiers, but though he could have easily maintained order by proclaiming military law, he considered it essential, for political reasons, to keep the military element in the background, and make it appear that law and order were maintained as in other Canadian provinces. The difficulty of this task may be appreciated, when it is remembered that all the former machinery of government had disappeared, and even the few magistrates who remained were either afraid or disinclined to act. There was no law officer of any description, so that in reality the revival of public confidence was due to the moral effect produced

by the presence of the troops, and by the consciousness that they would be used at any moment, if necessary, for the suppression of disturbance, and the maintenance of order.

Mr. Smith entertained Colonel Wolseley and the head-quarter staff during their stay in Fort Garry right hospitably, and, after their long abstinence, they all thoroughly enjoyed the fine old port provided by the Hudson Bay Company for their Governor, with the exception of the Commander, who touched not one drop. When starting on this Expedition, Wolseley had laid it down as his rule of conduct to set an example of abstinence to his men: acting upon views he had for years strongly entertained, as to the positive injury to health caused by dram-drinking, even in moderation, he would permit no liquor of any sort—except a small quantity of brandy in each brigade of boats, as "medical comforts," under the charge of the commanding officer—to form part of the commissariat department. But he sanctioned a liberal allowance of tea, which was freely taken by officers and men twice and thrice a day, and though they were constantly wet to the skin, and had to perform the hardest work in damp clothes, the medical returns were almost blank, and crime and any serious cases of sickness were alike unknown in the Force. So scrupulously did Colonel Wolseley set the example of abstemiousness to his men, that when, on the return journey from Fort Garry, it was proposed to him that a bottle of whisky

he had taken in his canoe as "medical comforts," when starting on Lake Shebandowan, should be broached, he replied:—"No, I have promised it to Kane,"—his soldier servant of the 60th Rifles—and to Kane it was ultimately handed over unopened, after performing a journey of twice one thousand two hundred miles.

On his arrival at Fort Garry,* the newly installed Governor placed at Colonel Wolseley's disposal the best and most roomy apartment as a sleeping chamber, and when Mr. Irvine, his companion in the tent during the hard times of the long march, was proceeding to put up for the night as usual, Wolseley, with the feeling of comradeship of a true soldier, would not listen to this, but made his *compagnon de voyage* share his good luck, and place his mattress in a corner of the room. Such small traits give the clue to the

* Fort Garry, called also "the Upper Fort," is a rectangular edifice, crowded with buildings, and has an area of two hundred by eighty-five yards. The original fort, which was built about the year 1840, and was one hundred yards in length, is surrounded by a stone wall ten feet high, with circular bastions pierced for guns. Ten years later, when a detachment of the 6th Regiment was quartered here, it was doubled in size, but surrounded by a wooden palisading on a stone foundation. The fort stands at the angle formed by the junction of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, which, at this point, are about one hundred and sixty and five hundred and fifty feet wide respectively, and fronts the left bank of the former river, from which it is only one hundred yards distant. The village of Winnipeg, which is about half a mile distant, is simply a collection of some fifty houses, built without any regard to regularity of frontage, and forming one wide street, about a quarter of a mile long.

character of a man, and, in our opinion, are not too trivial to be chronicled by a biographer.

On the 28th of August, Colonel Wolseley issued a complimentary Order* to the Force; and, on the following day, the Regular troops, being relieved by the Ontario Militia, commenced to leave for Canada by the Winnipeg River, under the command of Colonel

* In this Order he said:—"You have endured excessive fatigue in the performance of a service that, for its arduous nature, can bear comparison with any previous military Expedition. In coming here from Prince Arthur's Landing, you have traversed a distance of upwards of six hundred miles. Your labours began with road-making and the construction of defensive works; then followed the arduous duty of taking the boats up a height of eight hundred feet, along fifty miles of river full of rapids, and where portages were numerous. From the time you left Shebandowan Lake until Fort Garry was reached, your labour at the oar has been incessant from daybreak to dark every day. Forty-seven portages were got over, entailing the unparalleled exertion of carrying the boats, guns, ammunition, stores, and provisions over a total distance of upwards of seven miles. It may be said that the whole journey has been made through a wilderness, where, as there were no supplies of any sort whatever to be had, everything had to be taken with you in the boats. I have throughout viewed with pleasure the manner in which officers have vied with their men in carrying heavy loads. It has rained upon forty-five days out of ninety-four that have passed since we landed at Thunder Bay, and upon many occasions every man has been wet through for days together. There has not been the slightest murmur of discontent heard from anyone. It may be confidently asserted that no Force has ever had to endure more continuous labour, and it may be as truthfully said that no men on service have ever been better behaved, or more cheerful under the trials arising from exposure to inclement weather, excessive fatigue, and to the annoyance caused by flies."

Feilden, Captain Buller's company of the 60th Rifles, guided by Mr. Monkman, proceeding by the road to the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, where they were to exchange the pack-horses that had formed their means of transport, for the boats in which a company of the Ontario Militia they would meet, had travelled to that point.

By the 3rd of September all the Regulars, including the detachments of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, had left the Fort by boat on their return to Canada.

Mr. Archibald,* the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, was duly installed on the 6th of September, and, on the 10th, Colonel Wolseley started by the road between Fort Garry and Lake of the Woods, accompanied by Mr. Irvine. Both the Militia Regiments—to whom he issued a complimentary Order, in terms similar to those addressed to the Regular troops—remained in the territory; the Ontario Rifles, in Fort Garry, where the two guns were also left, and the Quebec Rifles at the Stone Fort.

* In a letter to Wolseley he writes :—"I can judge of the work you have had to do all the better from having seen for myself the physical obstacles that had to be met and overcome—obstacles which, I assure you, exceed anything I could have imagined. It is impossible not to feel that the men who have triumphed over such difficulties must not only have themselves worked well, but also have been well led; and I should not be doing justice to my own feelings if I were not, on my arrival here, to repeat the expressions of admiration extorted from me as I passed along in view of the difficulties you had to meet, and which you have so triumphantly surmounted."

The troops performed in safety the return journey to Prince Arthur's Landing, which was very arduous, as the rapids of the Winnipeg had to be laboriously "poled" and "tracked," instead of "run." As they arrived at Thunder Bay, they embarked for Collingwood, whence they proceeded by train to Toronto and Montreal, where the last detachment arrived on the 14th of October. General Lindsay was enabled to report to the War Office, that "with the exception of one man left at Fort Garry with inflammation of the lungs, the Regular Force returned to Canada with no sick, and with no casualty by drowning, or of any other description." Truly a marvellous and unprecedented result in an arduous expedition, in which one thousand four hundred men were engaged.

On Wolseley's arrival at the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, he found a note from General Lindsay, saying that he intended to embark for England on the 1st of October, and would be glad of his company. Wolseley immediately pushed on for Prince Arthur's Landing in his canoe, and, on his arrival, took ship to Collingwood. Hurrying through Toronto, he proceeded to Montreal, where the citizens entertained him at a banquet, and presented him with an address of welcome and congratulation.*

* In this address they said:—"In common with the entire people of Canada, we hailed your appointment to the command of the Expedition with pleasure, and looked forward to your conduct of it with the most implicit confidence—a confidence which has been more than

The citizens of Montreal, whose sentiments were echoed by the inhabitants of Canada, were capable of forming a just estimate of the arduous nature of the Expedition brought to so successful a conclusion, as well as the advantages accruing to the Dominion; but it was otherwise with the people of this country. During the entire time occupied by the Expedition, the attention of England, as of the whole civilised world, was rivetted upon the tremendous drama then enacting on the banks of the Rhine, and so it happened

justified by the result. The difficulties of leading a considerable body of troops through an uninhabited territory without roads, and removed from any sources of supply, like that between Fort William and Fort Garry, were such as to tax the utmost skill; and that you have succeeded in overcoming them so successfully, without the loss of a single man, or any serious casualty, is the highest tribute that could be paid to your character and abilities as a soldier. The citizens of Montreal, who watched the progress of the Expedition with the most anxious concern, will ever remember your admirable management of it with feelings of the warmest gratitude.

"We regret your departure from Canada, where your conduct as a soldier, and your character as a citizen, have won for you so many warm friends; and, in bidding you farewell, we can assure you that the citizens of Montreal will feel the deepest interest in your future career, and will learn with the greatest gratification of your future happiness and prosperity.

"Wishing you and Mrs. Wolseley a safe and prosperous return to England, we bid you farewell.

"Signed on behalf of a meeting of the citizens of Montreal, held on the 27th of September, 1870.

"(Signed) WILLIAM WORKMAN, Mayor.

"T. D. King, Secretary."

that the labours and endurance of the soldiers, and the capacity and triumphant success of the leader of the Expedition to the Red River, were passed over with scarce one word of comment and eulogium on the part of the Press. A point that always tells with the British taxpayer, should not be omitted in summing up the successful features of this Expedition, and it was one that tended, in no small measure, to consign it to oblivion. It has been generally stated, and Captain Huyshe himself in his published work repeats the error, that the cost of the Expedition was about £400,000. We have it from the best authority, however, that the entire sum expended was only £80,000, and as, according to the original agreement, the mother country was to defray one quarter, of the amount, it follows that John Bull was only mulcted to the extent of £20,000. We know what a commotion was made over the Abyssinian bill of nine millions, and, for years after, a Committee of the House of Commons was engaged inquiring into the items of expenditure. Doubtless, therefore, John Bull, in the case under consideration, somewhat illogically considered that his rewards and approval should be meted out in proportion to the expenditure and to the disturbance of his peace of mind on the score of his contribution.

Colonel and Mrs. Wolseley, in company with General Lindsay, proceeded to England in the 'Scandinavian,' and, on their arrival in London, in October,

1870, Wolseley's appointment of Deputy Quartermaster-General in Canada having been abolished with the withdrawal of all British troops from the Dominion, he was placed upon the half-pay list of his rank.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, in a General Order to the officers and men of the Red River Force, expressed "his entire satisfaction at the manner in which they have performed the arduous duties which were entailed upon them, by a journey of above six hundred miles through a country destitute of supplies, and which necessitated the heavy labour of carrying boats, guns, ammunition, stores, and provisions over no less than forty-seven portages.

"Seldom have troops been called upon to endure more continuous labour and fatigue, and never have officers and men behaved better, or worked more cheerfully, during inclement weather and its consequent hardships, and the successful result of the Expedition shows the perfect discipline and spirit of all engaged in it."

Wolseley was not backward in expressing his sense of the conduct of the small force committed to his charge, and, in his final despatch of the 26th of September, after enumerating the difficulties overcome, adds:—"We were launched out into a desert of trees and water, carrying everything we required with us, unable even to avail ourselves of the assistance of horses or other draught cattle. Once cut adrift from

our base at Prince Arthur's Landing, until we had forced our way through the six hundred miles of forests that separated us from the inhabited country at the Red River, we were beyond the reach of all assistance from the outside world, and had to rely upon our own exertions solely to carry us through. Except that we were armed with superior weapons, the Expedition might have been one of classic times, so primitive was our mode of progression, and so little assisted were we by modern appliances."

The success of the Expedition was chiefly due to the master-mind, who infused into his subordinates some of his indomitable resolution and will, and who only encountered unforeseen difficulties to overcome them. A striking instance of this fertility of resource was afforded by him when, on finding the impossibility of utilising the road to Lake Shebandowan for the transport of boats, he sent them up the Kaministiquia river, a route that had been pronounced impracticable. "Had not this step been taken," writes General Lindsay, "the Regulars certainly would not have returned this season."

No one outside the Expeditionary Force knew better than the Lieutenant-General commanding the troops in Canada, the nature and extent of the obstacles so triumphantly overcome, and he says, in his final despatch of the 11th of October:—"The mainspring of the whole movement was the Commander, Colonel Wolseley, who has shown throughout great profes-

sional ability. He has the faculty of organization and resource in difficulty. He has served in many campaigns with distinction, and in this Expedition he has shown great aptitude for command. His advance upon Fort Garry itself was conducted with skill and prudence, and his proceedings there in abstaining from all interference with civil affairs himself, seem to me to have been eminently judicious. I hardly think it possible to overrate the advantage Her Majesty's Government and Canada have derived from the employment upon this delicate, as well as arduous service, of an officer of Colonel Wolseley's attainments, character, and discretion. I have esteemed myself fortunate in having such an instrument in my hand to carry out your orders with respect to the Red River Expedition. I therefore confidently recommend Colonel Wolseley to the gracious favour of Her Majesty."

Wolseley, while at Fort Garry, had learned in a letter from his old Chief and friend, the late Sir Hope Grant, that his name would be included among the Companions of the Bath in the next "Gazette," a tardy acknowledgement for his many and eminent services in four great Wars; and now, at the bidding of his Sovereign, he "rose up" Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, K.C.M.G.

On the 1st of May, 1871, after having been six months on the half-pay list, Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed Assistant Adjutant-General, Discipline Branch, at the Horse Guards. His staff-service hitherto

had been all passed in the Quartermaster-General's Department, which, dealing with the movement and supply of troops, as well as with other multifarious staff duties, was, according to the old *régime*, the most important of the administrative branches of the Service.

In the following August, there appeared an advertisement in the *Times*, inviting officers to compete for a prize of £100, offered by the Duke of Wellington, for the best Essay on "The System of Field Manœuvres best adapted for enabling our Troops to meet a Continental Army." The competitors were required to send in their Essays before the 1st of March in the following year, and Colonel E. B. Hamley, C.B., Commandant of the Staff College, and the distinguished author of the "Operations of War," consented to act as judge. Under the signature of "Ubique," Sir Garnet Wolseley competed for this prize,* but he was not sanguine of success as, owing to his onerous office work at the Horse Guards, he was only able to give

* At the request of the late Sir Hope Grant, commanding the Division at Aldershot, he delivered a lecture at the Camp on the Red River Expedition, which was never published, and the MS. was burnt at the Pantechnicon. Again overcoming his rooted dislike to lecturing, at the request of his old Commander and friend, in January, 1873, he read a paper before a large military audience at Aldershot on "Railways in time of War." As this important subject could not be treated exhaustively in one lecture, it was his intention to have delivered a second, but this resolve he was unable to carry out, and the *brochure* has been printed in its incomplete form.

to the composition of his Essay, such odd portions of his time as were snatched from his official duties. But though this hastily written production of his pen did not carry off the prize, it was regarded with so much favour by the judge, that, together with four others, also "highly recommended," it was published by the desire of the Duke of Wellington.

It speaks not a little for Sir Garnet Wolseley's energy and love of his profession that he, who had made his name as a practical and successful soldier, should care to compete with Staff College students and other officers who had abundance of leisure. This competition also affords an instance of his magnanimity, for when selecting his Staff for the Ashantee War, he offered the appointment of Military Secretary to his successful rival, Lieutenant J. F. Maurice, R.A., Instructor of Tactics and Organization at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst (son of the late Professor Maurice), and on learning that, according to "the rules of the Service," the officer who filled this responsible position on a General's staff, must not be under the rank of a Captain, he was so determined not to be baulked of the services of a young officer of such promise, that he appointed him his private secretary, and in that capacity the successful essayist conducted his Chief's official correspondence with the Colonial Office.

During the Autumn Manœuvres of 1871, in the neighbourhood of Aldershot and Woolmer Forest, Sir

Garnet Wolseley held the post of Chief of the Staff to Sir Charles Staveley; and, in the following year, he served as Assistant Adjutant-General on the staff of the Southern Army, commanded by that fine old soldier, Sir John Michel, who, remembering the capacity Wolseley displayed in the China War of 1860, requested him to conduct the duties of that Department. Sir Garnet was a member of the Committee for the Reorganization of the Army, presided over by General McDougall, and also frequently wrote minutes on various military questions at the request of the Duke of Cambridge and Mr. Cardwell, the Secretary of State for War.

But the name and fame of Sir Garnet Wolseley, notwithstanding all his services, might have remained unhonoured and unknown had not one of those crises arisen which this country, with her vast colonies and dependencies, has so frequently been called upon to meet, and once again, "the hour brought forth the man." When we survey the situation of affairs on the Gold Coast in the Autumn of 1873, and the difficulties that appeared to militate against a successful invasion of Ashantee, difficulties as to climate, transport, and the limited time disposable for military operations, we may recall the anxiety with which every patriotic heart regarded the success of the Expedition at the time it was despatched from these shores. We may recall the stirring telegrams and despatches in which was recounted the story of how these obstacles were man-

fully met and overcome, how the invading hosts were rolled back across the stream over which the foot of a white conqueror had never yet been set, and then how the final advance on Coomassie was made with a handful of men, battling ten to one against savages who knew every tree and track of the forests surrounding their capital. When we recall these achievements of that small and daily diminishing band, achievements which equal in heroism and disciplined valour the deeds of Pizarro and Cortez, who fought in open country against an effeminate foe, we may congratulate ourselves at calling such soldiers our countrymen, and "lay the flattering unction to our souls" that while British officers volunteer in hundreds to encounter the deadly perils of battle and disease, and the Army can provide such a General to lead them to victory, the country has no cause to lament the decay of the spirit that led our fathers to conquer India and colonize so large a portion of the globe.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE ASHANTEE WAR.

Preparations for the War—Arrival at Cape Coast—Operations South of the Prah—The Action at Essaman—Defence of Abrakrampa, and Retreat of the Ashantees—Illness of Sir Garnet Wolseley—Preparations for crossing the Prah—The Advance into Ashantee—Battle of Amoaful—Action at Ordahsu—Capture of Coomassie—Return to Cape Coast—The Treaty of Fommanah—Return to England—The Welcome Home.

THE Government of Mr. Gladstone, like others that had preceded it, was averse from entering upon an Ashantee War,* owing to the unpopularity attaching to such Expeditions in England, and the knowledge that, in the event of failure, it was morally certain an adverse vote in Parliament would place them on the Opposition benches. But, though long-suffering, it was impossible that any Government, not utterly

* A detailed account of the events preceding the war may be found in "Fantee and Ashantee," by Captains Huyshe and Henry Brackenbury, R.A., and in the "History of the Ashantee War," by the latter officer, a concise and truthful work, to which we are greatly indebted in the preparation of the following pages.

destitute of public spirit, could tolerate the continued occupation of the Fantee Protectorate and the practical blockade of the British Forts, by the savage hordes of Koffee Kalkalli; and, at length, the receipt of the news of the action at Elmina on the 13th of June, when Colonel Festing repelled the enemy, induced the Ministry to resolve upon military operations on a scale suitable to the requirements of the emergency. The Government selected Sir Garnet Wolseley for the command, and wisely centred in his hands the supreme direction of civil as well as military affairs. In accepting the honourable and arduous task of pacifying the Gold Coast, Sir Garnet stipulated that he should not be required to remain Civil Governor after the close of military operations; but his only other request, that he should be given an adequate force of Europeans, was not then complied with.

The Colonial Office, having also decided upon organizing a subsidiary Expedition to Coomassie from the Volta, under the general control of Sir Garnet Wolseley, Commander Glover, R.N.,* formerly Administrator at Lagos, was appointed to the command as

* It is a singular circumstance that this able and gallant officer, who was thus thrown into such close relations with Sir Garnet Wolseley, had first seen service in the Burmese War, and that he received a severe wound near Donabew, on the Irrawaddy, in the disastrous attack on Myattoon's position by Captain Loch, R.N., which led to Sir John Cheape's successful Expedition, when Ensign Wolseley was severely wounded leading the storming party, as fully detailed in the first chapter of this work.

"Special Commissioner to the friendly Native Chiefs in the eastern district of the protected territories near, or adjacent to, our settlements on the Gold Coast." The chief object sought to be attained was to cause a diversion in the rear of the Ashantee Army, and thereby to draw them from the Protectorate; and sanguine people, who were ignorant of the resources of the powerful African monarchy, even hoped that it might obviate the necessity of the despatch of any European troops.

When it was known that the Government had resolved upon an Expedition to Coomassie, the Press was filled, as at the time of the Abyssinian War, with dismal prognostications, and one "experienced" gentleman, in answer to a letter from Sir Garnet Wolseley as to necessary articles of outfit, replied that he would "strongly recommend that every officer should take out his coffin." "One who was there," as usual at such times, also made his appearance in print, and advocated a certain course, which others, who had likewise passed "half their lives on the Coast," laughed to scorn; indeed, had the proposals suggested by this multiplicity of councillors been followed, anything but wisdom would have been exhibited by the Authorities, and one of the few follies in the military preparations, undertaken on the advice of old *habitués* of the Coast, was the supply of rails to be laid from Cape Coast to the Prah. Among other doleful prophecies Sir Garnet was assured by an officer who professed himself

intimate with the country, that "every soldier would require a hammock, and every hammock would require six men to carry it;" and he was even given to understand that after crossing the Prah, he would find a fine open country, though, as a matter of fact, the whole route to Coomassie north of that river lies through a dense forest.

The intelligence of the appointment of Sir Garnet Wolseley to the command of the projected Expedition, was received by the country with universal approval, and he speedily gave tokens of the wisdom of the selection in the infinite care and patience he took in organizing the details of the undertaking, as far as was possible at this early stage, and in gaining information on all points from anyone who had it to impart. He listened to all the gloomy vaticinations of his numberless correspondents and visitors, and answered the former with courteous rejoinders of thanks, or dismissed the latter with the assured smile of one who had visited many climes and encountered too many difficulties to be overcome with the terrors of travellers' stories. Though fully alive to the extreme difficulties of the undertaking upon which he was embarked, his confidence in his own resources and in his ability to triumph over them, never deserted him. Before leaving this country, he informed his family and friends that he would be back in England by the 1st of April, if he returned at all, and he was even

more than usually punctual, for he landed at Portsmouth on the 21st of March.

Sir Garnet Wolseley was inundated with hundreds of applications from officers desirous of serving on the pestilential West Coast, which was the more praiseworthy as the Press were loud in their declarations that little honour could be gained by defeating the army of a barbarous African monarch. Officers, however, had a higher sense of public duty, and many distinguished by their scientific attainments, in order to serve under so tried a soldier, resigned important and lucrative Staff appointments.

In these days of competitive examinations, when an officer cannot be promoted from the junior regimental grades without "passing," the language of Ensign Northerton, or the Captain, in Swift's "Hamilton Bawn," does not represent the views of the profession :—

"A scholard, when just from his college broke loose,
Can hardly tell how to cry *bo* to a *goose;*
Your Noveds, and Blutarchs, and Omers and stuff,
'Fore George, they don't signify this pinch of snuff.

"To give a young gentleman right education,
The Army's the only good school in the nation;
My schoolmaster called me a dunce and a fool,
But at cuffs I was always the cock of the school."

The difficulty with Sir Garnet Wolseley, was to select from so many suitable candidates; but he quickly succeeded in gathering round him an efficient staff of

young, active, and able officers. These were:—Colonel J. C. McNeil, V.C., C.M.G., Chief of the Staff; Major T. D. Baker, 18th Royal Irish, Assistant-Adjutant-General; Captain G. L. Huyshe, Rifle Brigade, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; Captain R. H. Buller, 60th Rifles, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General; Deputy Controller M. B. Irvince, C.M.G., in charge of the Control Department; Captain H. Brackenbury, R.A., Assistant Military Secrectary; Captain Hugh McCalmont, 7th Hussars, and Lieutenant the Honourable A. Charteris, Coldstream Guards, Aides-de-Camp; Lieutenant J. F. Maurice, R.A., Private Secretary. Of the preceding, Colonel McNeil, Captains Huyshe, Buller, and McCalmont, and Mr. Irvine, had served in the Red River Expedition, and he gladly availed himself of their services.

Having digested all the information he could gather —the most reliable being that culled from the pages of Bowdich, and Dupuis, who had visited Coomassie half a century before, and from whose itineraries a map was prepared at the Topographical Department of the War Office, which was afterwards found to be curiously inaccurate—Sir Garnet Wolseley laid before Her Majesty's Ministers a Memorandum embodying his views of the objects to be attained, and the means necessary for their accomplishment. In this Memorandum he proposed that two battalions of European troops, numbering each twenty-nine officers, and six hundred and fifty-four men, with detachments of other

branches of the Service, all specially selected for the duty, should be despatched to Cape Coast in time to commence operations on the 1st of December. The Government, however, influenced by the condition of the Marines, who had already been despatched to the Coast, and by the statements of the sickness that would decimate European troops taking the field, negatived this proposal; and it was decided that the 2nd battalion of the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers and the 1st battalion of the Rifle Brigade, should be made up to the required strength, and held in readiness for service, but that the question of their despatch should be reserved until Sir Garnet had reported to the Government, after investigating the condition of affairs on the spot. The Ministers enjoined upon Wolseley that, while punishing the Ashantee monarch and teaching his people a lesson as to the folly of waging hostilities with this country, he was to be especially careful that some responsible power was left with whom to negotiate for peace. In this respect our position was similar to that which we held in the China War of 1860, where too signal a success, as involving the destruction of the Treaty-making power, was to be deprecated only less than a failure.

From this date until his departure, Sir Garnet was fully occupied in the personal supervision of the details connected with the organization, transport, and fitting out of the Force, the first portion of which was to consist only of Native Allies and West India troops. He

drew up memoranda and indents for the supply of stores and *matériel* of war, and decided upon the uniform and equipments of the Special Service officers, and of the men of the European Regiments warned for duty, the important considerations of utility and comfort being only considered. Officers' kit was limited to fifty pounds, and their uniform, which was made of grey homespun, consisted of the Norfolk jacket, with pantaloon, gaiters, shooting-boots, and cork helmet with the Indian puggree; their arms were the Elcho sword-bayonet and a revolver. The rank and file were to be dressed in smock frocks, trousers, long boots and helmets, and were to be armed with short rifles and the Elcho sword-bayonet.

The time having arrived for his departure, Sir Garnet Wolseley was invested with the local rank of Major-General, and was appointed Administrator of the Government of the Gold Coast, with instructions to report direct to the Home Government. Finally, he was furnished with instructions as to his mission in the double capacity of Administrator and Commander of the Forces, from the Earl of Kimberley, Secretary of of State for the Colonies, and Mr. Cardwell, Secretary of State for War. The latter read much like the injunction addressed of old by the Egyptian task-masters to the Israelites, to "make bricks without straw," as Wolseley was given no European troops to enforce the "lasting Treaty" insisted upon by Lord Kimberley, beyond a handful of Houssas and Marines,

and a West Indian Regiment, for the "Allies," so pompously paraded by his Lordship, were a mere rabble, whose cowardice had already been proved. Moreover, the whole responsibility of ultimately employing European troops, which "nothing but a conviction of necessity would induce Her Majesty's Government" to sanction, was cast upon Sir Garnet, who, nevertheless, cheerfully took up the burden, confident in his own resources, and animated by a single-minded determination to do his duty to the best of his ability.

On the 12th of September, Sir Garnet Wolseley sailed from Liverpool for the Gold Coast, on board the West African steam-ship 'Ambriz,' which also carried twenty-seven Special Service officers, the Special Correspondents of the *Times* and *Standard* (Messrs. W. Reade and Henty), and Captain Strahan, R.A., the new Administrator of Lagos, who left the ship at Sierra Leone. Sir Garnet had always been singularly unfortunate in the ships that had carried him to the scenes of his labours, and the 'Ambriz' was to be no exception. She had been hastily prepared for sea, was badly found, and had insufficient accommodation, and moreover, reeked with foul smells, and the odours arising from bilge-water. The ship touched at Madeira and Sierra Leone, where Sir Garnet Wolseley landed on the 27th of September, and, having assumed the command of the land forces in the West African Settlements, was entertained, together with his Staff,

by Mr. Berkeley, the Governor-in-Chief. As Sir Garnet had decided to raise two Regiments of Natives, who were to be placed under the command respectively of Colonel Evelyn Wood and Major Baker Russell, he despatched Captain Furze and Lieutenant Saunders to the British Settlement at Bathurst, on the Gambia, to enlist men from the Mahommedan tribes of Mandingoes and Jolliffs. Lieutenant Gordon was also left behind to enlist men at Sierra Leone, where Major Home, R.E., succeeded, in a few hours, in obtaining a body of thirty-three artificers, and twenty labourers, who were embarked for passage to Cape Coast. The 'Ambriz' touched at Monrovia, in the Republic of Liberia, and at Cape Palmas, where Commissary O'Connor was landed with instructions to enlist some Kroomen as carriers.

On the 2nd of October, she cast anchor off Cape Coast, and, on the following day, Sir Garnet landed under the usual salutes, the paucity of troops being manifested by the fact that the guard of honour of West India soldiers, after presenting arms at the landing place, proceeded, like stage "supers," at the double to perform the same duty at Government House, where he was received by Colonel Harley. On his arrival took place the ceremony of investiture, which simply consisted of the reading of his letter of appointment, followed by the usual swearing-in in the presence of the chief judge. On making inquiries, Sir Garnet found that the Settlement was even more denuded of troops than he had expected, as Captain

Glover on his way to Accra, had taken with him the trained Houssa police. Thus the entire Force of disciplined troops at his disposal, scattered between Cape Coast, Elmina, Secondee, Dixcove, Axim, Napoleon, Abbaye and Accroful, consisted of seven hundred men of the 2nd West India Regiment, of whom only four hundred were available for service in the field, and scarcely one hundred for the defence of Cape Coast itself; and besides these, Captain Thompson, of the Queen's Bays, who had been organizing the Fantee police, reported ten as the number really available for general duty! There, were, also, only thirteen officers on duty with the 2nd West India Regiment, and Sir Garnet, who, while at Sierra Leone, had written requesting the Government to send him twelve additional Special Service officers, now urgently repeated his demand. Notwithstanding this paucity of officers and men, he took an encouraging view of affairs, and wrote to the Home Government on the 10th of October, that, with the fleet at his back, from which to draw in the event of emergency, he was confident he could repulse any attack of the enemy. That such might be made at any moment, appeared no unlikely contingency, for the Ashantee Army, nearly forty thousand strong, under their most redoubtable General, Amanquatia, was known to be encamped at Mampon and Jooquah, distant only a few hours' march, while well authenticated reports stated that large reinforcements had marched from Coomassie on their

way to the Fantee territory. It is not surprising, therefore, that, though Sir Garnet Wolseley preserved his equanimity and spoke confidently to all around him, Cape Coast was in a state of panic, and the advent of a "fighting" Governor was hailed with joy by the population.

In order to inspire confidence, and induce the Fantees to exert themselves, Sir Garnet, on the day succeeding his landing, held a durbar (called here a "palaver") of the kings and chiefs of the Protectorate, which took place in a large marquee pitched in front of Government House. The "Kings" began to arrive soon after three o'clock, and with the gravity becoming the solemnity of the occasion, seated themselves on stools, carried by their attendants, some of whom also bore huge umbrellas, which denote the regal state among these African communities, while others carried swords and canes, and beat tomtoms to herald the approach of their potent masters.

Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had first held a *levée* of the military and naval officers and principal merchants, at four o'clock descended the steps to the marquee, under a salute from a guard of honour. On his arrival in the tent, he took his station upon a small raised daïs at one end, the British officers standing behind and around him. The kings and chiefs were now ushered in, and came crowding and jostling along like a crowd of schoolboys, or the Members of the House of Commons when called to the bar of the Lords

to hear the Speech from the Throne. Sir Garnet stood, while the kings in succession were introduced to him, and received the conventional shake of the hand from the Queen's Representative. The presentations over, Sir Garnet, still standing, proceeded to address the crowded throng in an inspiriting address; each sentence, as it fell from his lips, being translated into Fantee by a German interpreter.

At the termination of his speech, which was received with respectful and eager attention, the present of gin, customary on those occasions, was made to each of the princes and chiefs, and, after a second hand-shaking, they retired to consult together, with instructions to return on the 6th. At this second meeting, which was conducted under the same formalities, they expressed their willingness to comply with the terms offered, and their readiness to collect their men, but with the indolence and cowardice that characterized their conduct throughout the ensuing operations, they delayed, from day to day, their departure from Cape Coast At the request of the kings, the General appointed officers as Special Commissioners, with detailed instructions, to assist them in collecting their men.

Several kings not having presented themselves, Sir Garnet addressed letters to them on the 5th of October, requesting them to assemble their men at Dunquah, which had been appointed as the general rendezvous, where Lieutenant Gordon, of the 98th, was directed to mark off camping-grounds for them.

Almost daily interviews took place between Sir Garnet and some of the kings, whom he strove to influence by considerations of profit, as honour and patriotism were unknown words in their vocabulary, to collect their men and fight the Ashantees. Bethinking him of the prevailing custom in this strange land, where the weaker sex belabour any men who remain behind when the tribes turn out for war, the General held a palaver of the ladies of Cape Coast at Government House. They attended the unusual summons in great numbers, all with elaborate *coiffures*, and decked out in gold rings and fastenings for the ample shawl which formed the sole covering of most of them; and the interview ended in their agreeing to take solemn vengeance against any faint-hearted males who failed to respond with alacrity to Sir Garnet's summons.

Nothing whatever had been done to prepare for the Expedition, and not a single Fantee had been enrolled. But the General and his staff soon supplied all deficiencies by their energy. The landing and storage of supplies, and the question of postal communications with the outposts, first engaged the attention of Sir Garnet, while Cape Coast and Elmina, respectively under the command of Colonels F. Festing, of the Marines, and Evelyn Wood, V.C., of the 90th Regiment, were placed in a position to resist any attacks of the enemy. Suitable sanitary arrangements were also set on foot in Cape Coast which was in a state of indescribable filth; and Major Home, R.E., quickly found

all his energies taxed in getting any work out of his artificers and labourers. A Survey Department was organised, under the superintendence of Captain Huyshe, who, on the second day after his arrival, left head-quarters for the most advanced post, and made sketches of the road and of the positions of Accroful and Dunquah; his assistant, Lieutenant Hart, at the same time being engaged on the survey of the greater portion of the country about Cape Coast. Officers from Elmina surveyed the country between Elmina, Abbaye, and the Sweet River in the direction of Cape Coast. Within a few days of Wolseley's arrival, the entrenched outposts established at Napoleon, Abbaye, and Accroful—on the Dunquah road, about fifteen miles north-east of Cape Coast—which were garrisoned by detachments of the West India troops, and those at Yancoomassie and Dunquah, held by Lieutenant Gordon and his armed police and volunteers, were all placed in communication with each other, and were furnished with a week's supplies.

As, in order to inspire confidence, it was above all things necessary to act on the offensive, the preparations hitherto made only having for their object the defence of the British posts, Sir Garnet instructed Captain Buller, 60th Rifles, in charge of the Intelligence Department, to gather all the information attainable regarding the positions and strength of the enemy. It had been Wolseley's earnest desire, since he landed on the Gold Coast, to prove to the people that the Ashan-

tees were not invincible in the bush, a proposition which had come to be regarded as an article of faith in West Africa, and was even held by some people in England, who, while they allowed the superiority of European soldiers in the open, and even were not prepared to deny that our officers could, under the same conditions, successfully lead Native auxilliaries, yet would shake their heads when anyone argued that even British soldiers could fight and overcome, in the recesses of their own forests, the most dreaded of all the tribes of African warriors. Sir Garnet resolved to take advantage of the first opportunity of showing what even Native troops could do, when properly handled and led, nor was this opportunity long in offering itself.

Learning that the Ashantees were drawing most of their supplies of food from Elmina, and the neighbouring sea-coast villages of Amquana, Akimfoo, and Ampenee, whence the supplies were conveyed inland through the village of Essaman, about four miles to the north-west of Elmina, Sir Garnet directed Colonel Wood to write to the chiefs of these places, summoning them before him to appear at Elmina. The chiefs immediately sent off a messenger to the Ashantee camp at Mampon, asking for instructions, and were told to refuse compliance as the Ashantees would protect them, and the white men, though brave in the open, dared not venture into the bush. Accordingly the Akimfoo chief alone came into Elmina. No

answer was vouchsafed from Ampenee, and the Amquana chief sent word, "I have smallpox to-day but will come to-morrow," though, instead of appearing, he betook himself to Mampon. Finally the chief of Essaman replied insolently, "Come and fetch me; white man no dare go bush." Sir Garnet resolved to undeceive these people, and as, to insure success, secrecy was essential, he only took into his confidence Colonels McNeill and Wood, Dr. Home, principal medical officer, and Mr. Irvine.

Much, indeed everything, depended on a first success, which would instil confidence into Europeans and Natives alike, and he now made use of a *ruse*, mention of which, curiously enough, may be found in his "Soldier's Pocket Book." In that little work, speaking of newspaper correspondents, whom he stigmatizes as "those newly-invented curses to armies, who eat the rations of fighting men, and do no work at all," he propounds a method by which they may be made of great utility in forwarding the plans of a general in the field. "These gentlemen," he says, (p. 225) "pandering to the public craze for news, render concealment most difficult; but this very ardour for information a General can turn to account, by spreading false news among the gentlemen of the Press, and thus use them as a medium by which to deceive the enemy." Sir Garnet now proceeded to put into practice this *ruse*, and announced at breakfast on the 12th of October, that he had received bad news

from Addah on the Volta, where Captain Glover was in danger of being surrounded, and that he intended to proceed to his aid; and immediately proceeded to Elmina in the 'Bittern,' with one hundred and forty Houssas, who had just been recruited at Lagos, a report having been allowed to spread that Colonel Wood expected to be attacked. The Houssas were drilled in the use of the Enfield during the two hours' voyage, and were landed at Elmina, where Sir Garnet had a conference with Colonel Wood, and, having imparted his plans to him under the seal of secrecy, returned to Cape Coast the same evening.

But as he could not take the field with the limited force at his disposal, he determined to solicit the assistance of Captain Fremantle, the senior naval officer, and, on the 12th of October, proceeded on board the 'Barracouta,' ostensibly to return Captain Fremantle's official visit, when that officer—having two days' before received instructions from the Admiralty which partially freed him from the restrictions as to the employment of his sailors and Marines, imposed by Commodore Commerell before his departure for the Cape—promised the General his hearty co-operation. The same day two hundred and fifty labourers and the necessary stores and cots, proceeded to Elmina, and Captain Peile, of the 'Simoon,' landed with forty seamen, as a guard for Cape Coast. All the arrangements being made ostensibly to proceed to the aid of Captain Glover, at six p.m. on Monday, the 13th of October, the detach-

ment of the 2nd West India Regiment at Cape Coast, was embarked on board the 'Decoy' (an appropriate name), expecting to sail for Accra; and, at ten p.m. Sir Garnet—accompanied by Colonel McNeil, Major Baker, Captains Buller and Brackenbury, and Lieutenant the Honourable A. Charteris, with Drs. Home, Jackson, and Mosse—embarked on board the 'Barracouta,' in which were also one hundred and fifty of the Royal Marines. The two ships started about one a.m. on the morning of the 14th October, and, two hours later, the General and Captain Fremantle landed at Elmina in the 'Barracouta's' gig, and, by half-past four a.m. the advanced guard moved off, the main body following soon after five. On their arrival at Elmina, Colonel Wood, who had posted a cordon of police round the town so as to prevent all egress, was placed in command of the column, the General accompanying it in order to show the Natives that, unlike preceding Governors, he had the supreme direction of military as well as civil affairs. The force, accompanied by two chiefs and twenty guides, consisted of twenty Marine Artillerymen, with one 7-pounder gun and a rocket tube, one hundred and twenty-nine Marines, twenty-nine seamen, two hundred and five of the 2nd West Indian Regiment, and one hundred and twenty-six Houssas, besides three hundred labourers.

The track from Elmina led through a swamp, knee-deep for almost eighty yards, and, later, through a very narrow bush path, with high thick jungle on each side.

After a halt, about two thousand yards from a hill behind which Essaman was said to be, the Houssas were met by the enemy's scouts, and when Sir Garnet arrived at the front, he found them firing wildly into the bush, which was very dense.

Meanwhile, Captain Buller passed down the path leading to Essaman, and advanced into the village where a number of armed men were collected. Captain Fremantle brought the gun and rockets up to the path and opened fire, and Colonel McNeill took some men into the bush to the left, and began working round the flank of the village. A heavy fire was opened by the enemy, and Captain Fremantle was shot through the arm, a slug penetrated the leather case of Captain Buller's prismatic compass, and broke the vane, and Colonel McNeil* was badly wounded in the arm. In order to clear the dense bush on the right, Captain Crease took some Marines into the bush, and Sir Garnet sent with him Lieutenant Hon. A Charteris and Captain Brackenbury, who says:—"We had to cut our way with our sword-bayonets to the edge of the clearing. Captain Crease led some men to clear

* Colonel McNeill's wound was very severe, and necessitated his conveyance on board the 'Simoom,' and subsequent return to England. His loss was keenly felt by Wolseley, whose estimate of his soldierly qualities, formed in the Red River Expedition, was enhanced by the ability he had displayed since landing on the Gold Coast. Sir Garnet immediately applied for the services, as his Chief of the Staff, of Colonel Greaves, and, pending his arrival, the duties of the office were performed by Major Baker, the Assistant Adjutant-General.

the hill on the right, and protect our flank, leaving the two staff officers to enter the village with the remainder, which we did, while heavy firing was still going on from the houses on the left. We found the village deserted, got the rocket-fire stopped, pushed on to the far end, and posted a guard."

Meanwhile the Ashantees employed their usual flanking tactics, and tried to turn the left of the West India Regiment, still on the brow of the hill, where the Houssas had been first met, but the attack was repulsed, and the troops advanced on the village by a road cut by the axemen on the left.

At half-past eight the assembly was sounded, and the troops, who had all one day's cooked rations, halted until a quarter to ten, when the column marched off for Amquana, which was reached soon after midnight. The march was intensely fatiguing, and, says Brackenbury, "Then for the first time we learnt the terrible strain of performing duties on foot in such a climate, yet no one would give in."

Amquana, like Essaman, was fired, and the column halted on the beach, the wounded being sent back to Elmina under an escort. At two o'clock a detachment of one hundred and fifty West Indians, the Houssas, twelve blue jackets, with rockets, and twenty Marines, marched for Akimfoo along the beach, and met, half way, the men of Her Majesty's ships 'Argus' and 'Decoy.' Akimfoo was reached at half-past three, and burnt, and also Ampenee, half a mile further on.

The enemy opened fire from the bush beyond the village, to which the Marines and blue jackets replied, but as it was too late to attack, Sir Garnet ordered the assembly to be sounded, and embarked on board Her Majesty's ship 'Decoy,' which steamed for Cape Coast Castle. The troops remained to cover the embarkation of the men of the 'Argus' and 'Decoy,' and then marched off, and, picking up the Marines at Amquana, reached Elmina at eight p.m.

A more arduous day's work officers and men have seldom performed. The General, with his Staff and the white troops, had been up all night, and had marched over twenty-one miles under a tropical sun, through a dense bush which prevented the circulation of even a breath of air, while there were no forest trees to give shade. Yet, strange to say, there were only two cases of sunstroke, and Dr. Home reported:—"The occasion has shown that Europeans are quite equal to one very hard day's work in the bush, and that marches of half the distance could be easily borne by them."

The moral effect created by this success was immense, and, in Sir Garnet's opinion, it was the turning point of the War. It broke the spell regarding the invincibility of the Ashantees in the bush, which had not only enchained the cowardly inhabitants of the Protectorate, but was even tacitly acknowledged by those pessimists who are to be found among all communities; and, while it instilled confidence into every

class, and taught officers and men that, when properly commanded and led, European troops could successfully compete with superior numbers in the densest bush, it also struck a terror into the hearts of our enemies, and shook the confidence of the Elmina people in their boastful allies from Coomassie.

On the following day Amanquatia, the Commander-in-Chief, then at Mampon, called a meeting of chiefs, who resolved on retreat, though shortly before they had declared they would never return to Ashantee until they had driven away the Europeans.*

On the day Sir Garnet Wolseley started on his Expedition to Essaman, he had penned two most important missives. One was a summons to Koffee Kalkalli, King of Ashantee, in which he required that potentate to withdraw all his troops into his own territory north of the Prah, by the 12th of November, to surrender all British subjects in his hands, and give

* The experience gained by this hard day's fighting taught a valuable lesson to Sir Garnet Wolseley, and he says in his Report to the War Office :—"I have been shown how little reliance can be placed on even the best Native troops in this bush-fighting, where it is impossible to keep them under the immediate control of European officers. One point stands prominently from the experience of this day, viz., that for fighting in the African bush a very exceptionally large proportion of officers is required. Owing to the dense cover, an officer can only exercise control over the men close to him, and for this kind of work there should be, at least, one officer to every twenty men. A small body of very highly disciplined troops, well supplied with selected officers, would be of far greater service for warfare in this country than a much larger number detailed for service in the ordinary tour of duty."

guarantees for the payment of compensation for losses, failing which he was "to expect the full punishment his deeds have merited."

Copies of this letter were sent to the address of the King on the 13th, 17th, and 18th of October, and one of them was opened by Amanquatia, who took upon upon himself to reply to the Queen's Representative, claiming the people of Assin, Denkera, Akim and Wassaw, as vassals to the King his master (though forty years before the then king of Ashantee had, by treaty, renounced all claim to their allegiance), and ending with the amiable asseveration, "there is no quarrel with you. I send my love to you."

Sir Garnet Wolseley, on the 13th of October, also wrote to the Secretary of State for War, calling for the immediate despatch to the Gold Coast of the European troops,* whom, before his departure, he had requested might be held in readiness to join him. In this lengthy and able letter† he gives an exhaustive exposition of the reasons that influenced him in taking a step deprecated by the War Office and Ministry, and, after adducing the experiences of his predecessors, and the reasons that militated against success on their part, he insists on the "possibility of undertaking a march of limited duration into the interior," under

* Two battalions of Infantry, six hundred and fifty each (one thousand three hundred); detachment Royal Artillery, sixty; detachment Royal Engineers, forty; Administrative Services, fifty; total, one thousand four hundred and fifty.

† See Appendix B.

such conditions as he proposes, and expresses his belief that "the existing conditions of health of the troops on the station, show that such an expedition does not involve great risk." He then, after adducing statistical proof that "while sickness is diminishing throughout the whole Coast, it is far less in the camps inland than in the barracks on the Coast," concludes with the opinions expressed in the Report of Dr. Home, his responsible adviser on sanitary questions.

Though this letter was written the day before the action at Essaman, owing to no homeward-bound steamer calling at Cape Coast between the 9th and 27th of October, it was not forwarded to England until the latter date; by the same mail Sir Garnet despatched a second letter, dated 24th of October, applying for an additional battalion of European troops. Meanwhile, small detachments of recruits for Russell's and Wood's Native regiments, continued to arrive, and, ultimately, the former was composed of six companies, consisting respectively of Houssas, Sierra Leones, Mumfords, Winnebahs, Opobos, and Annamaboes; and Wood's Regiment, of four companies, viz., Cape Coast Volunteers, Elminas, Kossoos, and Bonnys. The raw material thus assembled, seemed as unpromising as any ever raised for active service, but by dint of hard and unceasing toil, Russell and his officers at Cape Coast, and Wood and his coadjutors at Elmina, succeeded in instilling into the puzzled heads of their recruits, a knowledge of the elements of drill, and

eventually they proved serviceable and reliable auxiliaries. Captain Rait, R.A., assisted by Lieutenant Eardley Wilmot, had almost a harder task in making good gunners of the Houssas, but this difficulty also was surmounted by a combination of energy, tact, and hard work.

Very unsatisfactory were the results as regards the assembly at Dunquah, by the 20th of October, of the Contingents from the Fantee and allied kings. If zeal and energy on the part of the officers accredited to these chiefs, or the employment of every argument addressed to their patriotism—an unknown sentiment in the Fantee breast—or their cupidity—which found a ready echo in every heart—could have moved these cowardly chiefs and people (whom it would seem as if the economy of nature had intended to be slaves, so dead are they to every manly sentiment), then some fifty thousand fighting men, drawn from the entire Confederacy, would have rallied round the standard of the British General to expel the invader from their soil. Far different was the result. The kings sent their men in driblets to Dunquah, where the entire number only consisted of five hundred men, with between three hundred and four hundred others at Mansu, Napoleon, and Abrakrampa; the king of Annamaboe, the only one who displayed courage in the field, after much pressure from Captain Godwin, sent two hundred and eighty-seven men to Dunquah, by the last week in October. Such were "our Allies," and such the bur-

lesque soldiers with whom Sir Garnet Wolseley, in conjunction with a few hundred Native levies, was expected to engage the disciplined and homogeneous Ashantee hosts, and advance upon the capital of Koffee Kalkalli.

While the Control Department were busy landing stores, and sending them to the front, Major Home, R.E., assisted by Captain Buckle, and Lieutenants Mann and Bell, of the Engineers, was engaged pushing on the road to Mansu, where he erected a Fort. The outposts at Napoleon and Abbaye, and at Mansu, Dunquah and Accroful, on the main road, were all fortified and garrisoned, and Lieutenant Gordon reported that Abrakrampa, a town of three hundred houses, was also placed in a condition of defence.

On the 25th of October, in consequence of reliable information that Amanquatia had broken up his camp at Mampon, and intended retreating across the Prah in the direction of Dunquah, Sir Garnet took immediate steps to harass the retreating Army, and strengthen the Force on the road, while the three officers commanding at all the outposts on the main road and at Abrakrampa, were warned of the new turn affairs had taken.

On the following day, Colonel Wood made a reconnaissance from Elmina, and the General marched to Assayboo, ten miles from Cape Coast, at the junction of the roads to Abrakrampa and Dunquah, with a force of two hundred and fifty Marines and blue jackets

under Captain Fremantle, preceded by one hundred of Russell's Regiment under their Commander, who was directed to select a site for their encampment. After a fearfully hot march, Assayboo was reached about nine p.m., and the men bivouacked for the night, which was intensely dark. There were only two small tents with the Force, one being occupied by Captain Fremantle and some of his officers, and the other by the General and officers of his Staff—Charteris, Brackenbury, Baker, and Irvine.

In this connexion, as the Americans would say, an amusing anecdote was told us, illustrative of Wolseley's *bonhommie* and kind thought for his officers. During his temporary absence one night on board the ship at Cape Coast, two gentlemen, holding high positions on his Staff, slept in his room, and one of his servants, desirous of currying favour with his master, went off to the ship and reported the circumstance, adding that the matutinal tubs had been left unemptied and the beds unmade. "Of course you cleared up my room?" asked the General. "No, Sir," was the reply. "Then," added the former to the astonished domestic, in a tone which caused him to beat a hasty retreat, "go ashore, and do so at once." But *revenons à nos moutons.*

On receipt of reports that a large body of Ashantees was moving past Abrakrampa, in the direction of Dunquah, and that a portion were encamped at Assanchi, six miles from the former post, Sir Garnet

sent orders to Colonel Festing at Dunquah, to march with his whole force along the so-called "haunted" road, in the direction of Iscabio, while he himself decided on moving on Abrakrampa, where he hoped to be able to attack the flank of some one of the bodies of Ashantees moving from Mampon towards Dunquah.

Colonel Festing, accordingly, marched on the morning of the 27th of October, with twelve officers and seven hundred men, and surprised the enemy who, to the number of four or five thousand, were encamped about a mile from the village of Iscabio, and, having destroyed their camp, returned to Dunquah, his casualties being five officers, including himself and Captain Godwin, and forty-two men, wounded, and five men killed. The General proceeded on the same day to Abrakrampa, but the fatigned condition of the men prevented his attempting the march to Assanchi; on the following day he advanced with his whole Force on that point, hoping that Colonel Festing, of whose success he was ignorant, would advance from Dunquah, and that thus the Ashantees between Assanchi and Iscabio, might be attacked simultaneously in front and rear. But on his arrival at Assanchi, after a fatiguing march through a dense forest, or along a road nearly knee-deep in water, the enemy were found to have evacuated their camp; and, as there was no sign of a simultaneous advance on the part of Colonel Festing, the General returned to Abrakrampa, officers and men being thoroughly exhausted with the intense heat. As

the path, owing to the overhanging creepers and branches, prevented the use of a hammock, Sir Garnet was obliged to walk almost the entire distance of twelve miles, and suffered much from his wounded leg, which still continued to trouble him if over-exerted.

The Marines, on this occasion, suffered much, and twenty-nine of them were on the sick-list, suffering chiefly from foot-sores and weakness, due to exposure to the sun.

Sir Garnet returned to Cape Coast on the 29th of October, with the Marines and blue-jackets, and on his arrival, issued a Proclamation to the Native Kings and people, apprising them of recent events, and urging them to exert themselves and strike the retreating enemy. But the call to arms fell upon dulled ears and slavish hearts, and there was no response to its stirring appeals.

There can be no doubt that, owing to the want of one or two European Regiments during this critical period of the campaign, a splendid opportunity was lost for striking a decisive blow, and putting an end to the War, a result due to the desire of the Government to avoid despatching them at all to the West Coast; a question which it was decided should be submitted to the full Cabinet.

As the only course the General could adopt, in view of his weakness, was to harass the retreating columns of the enemy, the garrisons at Abrakrampa and Dunquah were strengthened, and about nine

hundred Natives marched on the 1st of November from Napoleon to Beulah, to which Colonel Wood, taking with him a 7-pounder gun, and all the troops that could be spared from Elmina, proceeded in order to assume the command. At this date Colonel Festing had under his orders at Dunquah, one hundred of the 2nd West India Regiment, two guns, and one thousand four hundred Native Allies; and Major Russell, at Abrakrampa, eight officers and eight hundred and ninety men, of whom sixty were sailors and Marines, and one hundred Houssas. The head-quarters of the 2nd West India Regiment, under Colonel Webber, left Cape Coast and marched to Accroful, *en route* for Mansu, thus denuding the seat of Government of troops, the military duties being performed by the armed police. On the same day (3rd of November) under orders from the General, reconnaissances in force were made from Beulah, Dunquah, and Abrakrampa, when the Native levies exhibited their wonted cowardice, and the Army sustained a sad loss in the death of a gallant young officer, Lieutenant Eardley Wilmot, R.A.

On the 4th of November the Ashantees made their long-threatened attack upon Abrakrampa, and it was of a very determined character. On receipt of a despatch from Major Russell, Sir Garnet made the necessary dispositions for marching to his assistance, and sent orders by special runners to the officers commanding at Beulah, Assayboo, Accroful, and Dunquah, requesting them to act in co-operation. By nine a.m. on

the 6th, he was on his way with twenty-two officers and three hundred and three seamen and Marines,* and some rockets, under Captain Rait.

The march was a most distressing one to the men, the entire road between Cape Coast and Assayboo, a distance of ten miles, being almost destitute of shade; more than one hundred men fell out during the march, though only thirty-two were unable to rejoin during the four hours' halt at Assayboo. The General was eager to proceed, as he received here a despatch from Russell of that morning's date, reporting that the enemy were said to be advancing, and about four o'clock the march was continued by way of Butteyan instead of the main road, the garrison of Assayboo, consisting of fifty Marines, heading the column, which now numbered only one hundred and forty-one of the detachment landed in the morning. On the way they were joined by a detachment of the 2nd West Indians, and some Abrahs, under their king, by whom they were guided into Abrakrampa. On their arrival at the clearing in front of the position, Major Russell and other officers came out to receive the General, and the place was entered without any opposition from the enemy. Desultory firing continued during the night, but no further attack was made by the Ashantees, who

* Her Majesty's ships, 'Encounter,' seven officers and one hundred men; 'Simoom,' seven officers and eighty-seven men; 'Barracouta, four officers and sixty men; 'Bittern,' four officers and thirty-five men; 'Beacon,' three officers and twenty-one men.

employed themselves apparently cutting the bush close to the Assayboo road. Had the Ashantees exhibited any enterprise they might easily have stormed the position, as the cover under which the garrison had lain for forty-eight hours, was of the slightest description, but they feared to cross the cleared ground, some forty to one hundred yards in width.

On the 7th, Colonel Wood marched in with the Fantee levies, and Sir Garnet sent about one thousand of them into the bush between the roads leading to Assayboo and Anasmadie, when they exhibited a ludicrous spectacle of poltroonery. A crowd of officers assembled to watch these warriors creeping out like whipped hounds under the leadership of their chief, Attah, who was a despicable coward, and gazed at a scene, which is represented as being indescribably comic. Sir Garnet had addressed the Fantees when starting, to the effect that their conduct on the previous day had filled him with displeasure, and that he would give them this last chance of showing themselves fit to bear arms; to this they replied in their usual vein of bravado, but when it came to the point, hundreds of them lay down at the edge of the bush, which no persuasion or threat could induce them to enter. The General would not allow his officers to enter the bush with such curs, and this burlesque on the operations of war was brought to a suitable climax by their charging them with sticks and umbrellas.

Sir Garnet sent in pursuit of the retreating Ash-

antees those of the Native levies that could be collected together, but, on approaching the Ashantee rear, they showed the usual cowardice, and fled in panic flight when there was no pursuit.*

On the same day (8th of November) Sir Garnet returned to Cape Coast, which he entered in a sort of impromptu triumphal procession, the state chair of Amanquatia, captured by Captain Bromhead and his Abrahs, together with a sacred cock, war drums,† and other *spolia opima*, being carried in front of him, the object being to impress the Natives and inflame their minds with a proper sense of patriotic ardour. Of the disposable European Force, fifty blue-jackets and Marines were left at Abrakrampa, an equal number

* In his despatch to Mr. Cardwell, Sir Garnet says of these levies, who were reported to him as being "infinitely worse than useless:"—"You will thus see that even the enemy's retreat cannot instil courage into these faint-hearted Natives, and that they can neither be counted on to insure a victory nor to complete a defeat. They were ordered to pursue the enemy, remain in the field, and harass him in his retreat. The road was strewn with the *débris* of the retreating army; bodies of murdered slaves lay along the route; many prisoners were captured, the enemy's fire was silenced, and yet, such is the cowardice of these people, that they had to be driven into action, and after a success they became a panic-stricken and disorderly rabble. Still, helpless as the task appears of stirring these tribes to any exertions, I shall not give up my efforts. Orders have been issued for the renewal of the offensive movement, and for the use of every possible method to keep the men at the front."

† These Ashantee war-drums were presented by the Head-quarter Staff to the Royal United Service Institution, and have been deposited in the Museum, where they may be seen by visitors.

marched to Assayboo and Dunquah, and the remainder re-embarked on board their ships. Before leaving Abrakrampa, the General issued orders to Major Russell as well as to Colonel Festing, who had under his orders at Dunquah three thousand Natives, to harass the retreating columns of the enemy. Colonel Webber at the advanced post at Manu was also directed to exert himself in the same sense, though avoiding any attempt to head the enemy in his retreat northward; and Colonel Wood, commanding at Accroful, was urged to aid in forwarding supplies to the advanced posts.

A lull now occurred in the operations, and it was fortunate indeed it happened just at this time, for the Director of the complicated engine of war and politics on the Gold Coast, was stricken to the earth powerless as an infant. The ally that had suddenly arisen to fight on the side of the Ashantees was more potent for evil than even the cowardly Natives with whom the General was expected to effect their expulsion, and his plans, so far as he himself could have carried them out, came perilously near being frustrated. On the morning Sir Garnet quitted Abrakrampa, he felt the heavy hand of the African fever, induced chiefly by the trying exposure to the sun during the march up country, weighing him down with a feeling of lassitude and feebleness he in vain struggled to combat, and, on his arrival at Cape Coast, the fever took a turn that alarmed his medical advisers. He was first removed

to the hospital hut at Connor's Hill, but the heat there was so intense that Dr. Home decided upon sending him on board the hospital ship 'Simoom.' The fever ran very high and caused great anxiety to Dr. Home,* who, though ill himself, came off to the 'Simoom' three times in the twenty-four hours, to visit his patient, for whom he entertained the feelings of an old brother officer and friend. Not less devoted was Lieutenant Maurice, the private secretary, who nursed his chief day and night, and never quitted his side or took off his clothes for nearly a fortnight.

For two or three days a successful termination to the Expedition appeared to be imperilled, as the British General lay sick of this fever, which has proved fatal to so many of our best and bravest before and since this War; and an Ashantee Cassius might have said of him, as did his Roman namesake of Cæsar:—

> "When the fever fit was on him I did mark
> How he did shake; 'tis true, this god did shake;
> And that same eye, whose bend doth awe the world,
> Did lose its lustre; I did hear him groan;

* Dr. Home wrote to us of this attack: "Sir Garnet's illness was an attack of 'ardent fever,' caused by exposure to the sun on the march to the relief of the beleaguered village of Abrakrampa, on the 6th of November, and in the subsequent operations in connection with the affair. He had suffered from a degree of sunstroke, or insolation, in Burmah, and, as you probably know, a person who has once so suffered is ever after very susceptible of the sun. Sir Garnet's illness was very severe—dangerous—and Cape Coast was very anxious and troubled indeed until his symptoms mitigated."

'Aye,' and that tongue of his, that bade the Romans
Mark him, and write his speeches in their books,
'Alas!' it cried: 'Give me some drink, Titinius.'"

On the 21st of November, Sir Garnet was sufficiently recovered to return to Government House, and his advent was hailed with joy by all classes, over whom a gloom had been cast by his enforced withdrawal.

Among those who received Sir Garnet on the beach when he landed, and congratulated him on his recovery, was Mr. Irvine, head of the Control Department, who was himself taken ill with fever that same night. On hearing of the illness of his old comrade of the Red River Expedition, the General had him brought from the Castle to Government House, where he was quartered until restored to health. It was such acts of thoughtful kindness that endeared their chief to the officers of his staff, who felt not only that they would be supported and encouraged when working under him in the public service, but that they were not forgotten when overtaken by sickness, or cast on one side as a workman throws a tool whose edge has been dulled.

At this time sickness had wrought considerable havoc among the Special Service officers, who had come out in the 'Ambriz.' On the 15th of November, within six weeks of their arrival in this country, of the staff of ten, seven had been rendered ineffective by sickness; and, six days later, out of sixty-four officers, twenty-nine, nearly half of the entire strength, had suffered, of whom seven were invalided and one died.

The proportion among the seamen and Marines, owing to their work and exposure not being so excessive, was considerably less, only eighteen per cent. of the Marines at Dunquah and Abrakrampa being on the sick list; as, however, this was not satisfactory, the blue-jackets and Marines were recalled to Cape Coast from Dunquah and Assayboo on the 17th of November. The hospital ship 'Simoom' had become so saturated with malarious fever, owing to overcrowding and her unsuitability for the purpose, that she was little better than a plague ship. It was, accordingly, decided to send her to St. Helena, and she sailed on the morning of the 21st of November, having on board eight officers, including Colonel McNeill, Captain Godwin, and Lieutenant the Hon. A. Charteris,* who died on the passage.

Reconnaissances were made by Major Home from Quaman Attah, and, later, from the advanced post at Acroofoomu, and by Colonel Webber and Captain Huyshe from Mansu, to which Colonel Wood proceeded on the 22nd of November, taking command of the advanced guard in the operations south of the Prah. On the morning of the 27th, that officer pushed on to Faysowah with a small Force and came into

* This gallant and accomplished young officer, who was greatly beloved and regretted by his comrades, had been warned by an eminent surgeon that exposure to the deadly climate of the Gold Coast would be certain death; but, having volunteered, "he put that letter in his pocket, did not tell one of his friends or relations about it, and wrote back to the surgeon that it was too late to change his plans."

collision with the Ashantees, but was forced to retreat, as the enemy were in overpowering strength, and his party of Natives, being unsupported by Europeans, showed their usual unsteadiness; in this affair the officers freely exposed themselves, and, though without food for fourteen hours, marched a distance of more than twenty miles, four of which were through water. This was the last brush with the Ashantees south of the Prah, for, on the 5th of December, some prisoners reported that they had crossed that river at three points, and, on our scouts pushing on, the main Prahsu road was found strewed with their dead and dying, disease and starvation having decimated their ranks more than the sword.

It is estimated that, of the forty thousand warriors who originally invaded the Protectorate, at least one-half perished by the ravages of the sword, and by dysentery and small-pox. The remainder of Amanquatias' Army was disbanded at Coomassie on the 22nd of December, and thus disastrously ended what we hope may be regarded in history as "the last Ashantee Invasion."*

* In reporting to the Secretary at War the retreat across the Prah of the Ashantee Army, Sir Garnet Wolseley wrote on the 15th of December:—"The first phase of this War has thus been brought to a most satisfactory conclusion, without the assistance of any English troops, except the few Marines and the few available blue-jackets whom I found here on my arrival on the 2nd of October last. I submit that the happy change which has been since that time effected has been accomplished by the untiring exertions of the few carefully-

As the troops marched to the advanced stations, first the redoubt at Napoleon was levelled, and then the post at Abrakrampa was abandoned, the garrison proceeding to the head of the road. The steamship 'Volta' arrived on the 30th of November from England, having on board some Special Service officers, who were posted to Wood's and Russell's Regiments.

Renewed vigour was now displayed by all branches of the Force, and while the transport of supplies and ammunition to the front, engaged the attention of Mr. Irvine and his Department, Dr. Home, with Drs. Gore and Turton, was busy superintending the establishment of hospitals at Prahsu, Mansu, and Cape Coast, and making the necessary sanitary arrangements for the march of the European troops, and their camping grounds on the road to the Prah. The chief strain at this time, however, was upon Major Home, Lieutenant Bell, and the few sappers, who had to push on the formation of the road to the Prah, and bridge the intervening streams. Owing to their exertions the whole road from Cape Coast to Prahsu was in good

selected staff and special-service officers who landed with me here at the beginning of October. In the second phase of this War, when the campaign is opened in Ashantee territory beyond the Prah, by a brigade of English troops, the operations may be more brilliant than those which have resulted in forcing the enemy to retreat into their own country; but I feel assured that they cannot entail upon those engaged in them the hard work, exposure, and privations that have been so cheerfully endured for the last two months and a-half by the small band of officers of whom I speak."

order by Christmas Day, when no less than two hundred and thirty-seven bridges of various sorts had been constructed. The difficulty of constructing bridges for crossing these small rivers and canals, and indeed of felling the timber across the tracks, was greatly increased by the size and hardness of the wood. Some of the trunks were four or five feet in diameter, and being of mahogany and iron-wood, the work of removing them was very heavy. The Engineers also cleared the camping-grounds, in each of which huts* were constructed to contain four hundred European soldiers, with their complement of officers, besides the huts of the garrison, and those of the Control and Hospital Departments. The sites ultimately selected by Captain Huyshe and Major Home were :—Inquabim, seven miles from Cape Coast; Accroful, thirteen and three quarter miles; Yancoomassie Fanti, twenty-four and a quarter miles; Mansu, thirty-five and three-quarter miles; Sutah, forty-six miles; Yancoomassie Assin, fifty-eight and quarter miles; Barraco, sixty-seven and a quarter miles; and Prahsu, seventy-three and three-quarter miles. The labour of clearing the bush and of erecting the huts was very considerable, besides which arrangements were made for the supply of good water,

* The huts each held fifty men, and were built with wattled sides and thatched with palm-leaves; they were sixty by seventeen feet, with a height of five feet to the eaves. On each side was a raised guard-bed, made either of split bamboos or palm-stalks, for the men to sleep upon.

and, where necessary, for draining the camp with surface pipes.

No means were overlooked to insure the health and comfort of the European troops, and the General himself inquired into every detail of the Report* made to him on these vital questions by the principal sanitary officer, Surgeon-Major Gore, who, as well as Dr. Home, was invalided before the march commenced.

As the question of transport was likely to prove the chief difficulty in this Expedition, the General, as soon as he landed from the 'Simoom,' after his severe illness, turned his attention to it, and sought to grapple with the obstacles that lay in the way of organizing an

* The supply of rations was most liberal, including one-and-a-half pounds of bread or biscuit, one-and-a-half pounds of salt or fresh meat, with rice or preserved vegetables, and tea. Fresh meat was issued, and bakeries were established at most of the stations; lime-juice, with sugar, was given to the troops four times a week on the march; supplies of dried wood were collected for cooking and sanitary purposes; the camps were kept clean by men specially engaged, and a plentiful supply of water was afforded for drinking and ablutions. Finally, every morning, at daybreak, before starting on the march (the pace of which was even regulated), the troops partook of cocoa, biscuit, and quinine, and frequent halts were ordered, so as not to cause undue fatigue. Detailed arrangements were also made for the transport of the sick, who were carried by six bearers in the ordinary travelling hammock of the country, or ship's cot, slung on a bamboo, having for roof a light moveable wooden frame, with a cover and canvas curtains at the side; at each of the six stations were thirty-five hammocks or cots, an average of thirteen miles being fixed as a day's journey, and with the column, in addition, were eighty-five cots, with a suitable retinue of bearers.

efficient body of carriers. It may safely be said that these were greater than perhaps any Commander had before encountered, for here there was no beast of burden of the size even of a goat, and everything had to be transported on the backs of the most indolent race in the world. However, the man who had conducted to a successful conclusion the Red River Expedition, with its manifold difficulties of transport by land and water, was not likely to be foiled by the still more arduous problem now presented for solution; and though, at one time, the success of the Expedition was seriously imperilled, the task was achieved, thanks to the indomitable energy of the officer he selected to organize and work this branch of the Control Department.

Though a very large number of carriers was engaged by the exertions of the staff and special service officers —including a strong and willing brigade of women, and the "picaninni" brigade of four hundred boys and girls, who each carried a half-load of twenty-five pounds—they melted away; and "handing carriers over to the Control Department," wrote the General, "is like pouring water into a sieve; they run away after making a single journey."

Owing to the illness of Mr. Irvine, the onus of organizing the transport department was thrown on Mr. O'Connor, who was already overworked, while the department was under-officered.

Sir Garnet Wolseley, recognizing the extreme

urgency of the question, ordered that more than three thousand of the Native auxiliaries should be disarmed and handed over to the Control for service as carriers, and, on the 10th of December, he informed the kings and chiefs at Dunquah, whither he had proceeded during a tour of inspection of the stations on the road, that unless five thousand carriers were raised by the end of the month, he would not land the European troops who were daily expected. On the same day he returned to Cape Coast, and despatched Dr. O'Reilly to Elmina, where that energetic officer, by the offer of a free pardon to the chiefs who had lately been disaffected, raised seven hundred men in ten days. Dr. Gouldsbury also recruited with success in the windward ports, and thus, by supplementing the transport with the disarmed levies at Beulah and the unarmed men of the Abrah contingent, together with the women carriers recruited at Annamaboe, there were, on the 22nd of December, when the Department was placed in the experienced hands of Colonel Colley, six thousand carriers working between Cape Coast and the Prah.

Colonel Colley,* who is one of the most capable officers in the British Army, arrived at Cape Coast on the 17th of December, in the 'Sarmatian,' and immediately placed his services at the disposal of the General

* Colonel Colley resigned the post of Professor of Military Administration at the Staff College in order to see service in Ashantee. He had considerable experience on the Staff in England, and at Natal during the years 1859-61.

in any department they might be most conducive to the public advantage. From his antecedents, special knowledge of questions of army organization and administration, Colonel Colley was peculiarly fitted to grapple with the transport difficulty, and the General appointed him Director of Transport, with Major Maclean, Rifle Brigade, Captain Duncan, R.A., and Lieutenant Vandermeulen, 50th Regiment, Special Service officers, as his assistants. He proceeded to Mansu on the 19th of December, and drew up a Memorandum which showed that he had thoroughly mastered the question.

Her Majesty's ship 'Himalaya' arrived on the 9th of December, with the 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade (thirty officers and six hundred and fifty-two men), the 28th company of Royal Engineers (four officers and sixty-eight men), Army Hospital Corps (two officers and twenty-six men), and thirteen medical officers and two chaplains. On the 12th, Her Majesty's ship 'Tamar' cast anchor off Cape Coast, with the 2nd Battalion 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers (thirty officers and six hundred and fifty men), No. 1 Battery, 17th Brigade Royal Artillery (three officers and sixty-one men), and thirteen medical officers and two chaplains. On the 17th, the 'Sarmatian' arrived with the 42nd Highlanders (thirty officers and six hundred and fifty-two men), Army Service Corps (one officer and twelve men), Army Hospital Corps (one clerk and twenty-six men); also Brigadier-General Sir Archibald Alison,

Bart., who had been ordered to proceed from Aldershot to command the European Brigade, Colonel G. R. Greaves, the new Chief of the Staff, ten Special Service officers and fifteen medical officers. The arrival of the 'Himalaya' was the first intimation received by Sir Garnet Wolseley that his requisition for the immediate despatch of European troops, would be acted upon by Her Majesty's Government. In Lord Kimberley's Despatch of the 6th of October, he was informed of the desire of Her Majesty's Government "to impress upon him that they would be most reluctant to sanction any expedition which would require that European troops should be sent from this country to the Gold Coast. A satisfactory state of things will be attained if you can procure an honourable peace, or can inflict, in default of such peace, an effectual chastisement on the Ashantee force."

Most officers, on receipt of this half-hearted despatch, would have considered that they had done enough in clearing the Protectorate, and inflicting an "effectual chastisement" on the Ashantees. But if any doubts were entertained by Ministers as to the desirability of loyally carrying out their agreement with Wolseley regarding the dispatch of the European troops, on his responsibility, it was removed by the General's exhaustive letter of the 13th of October, demanding their instant embarkation. A Cabinet Council was held on the 17th of November, within a few hours of the receipt of the despatch in Downing Street, and, on

the 19th, the 'Himalaya' and 'Tamar' sailed from Portsmouth with the troops for the scene of hostilities. On the following day, in compliance with Sir Garnet's letter written after the fight at Essaman, requesting a third European battalion, the 42nd Higlanders were placed under orders, and sailed from Portsmouth on the 4th of December.

The 'Sarmatian' brought an important despatch from Lord Kimberley, dated 24th of November, acquainting the General with the views of Her Majesty's Government respecting the employment of the European Force, and the general limits within which his action should be confined. After expressing the confidence of the Ministry—who had "no hesitation" in complying with the requirements of his despatch—that "he would not employ this force, especially in the interior, a day longer than the paramount objects of his mission may require," Lord Kimberley limited the time of employment to "the continuance of the more healthy season," and added that, at the very latest, before the end of March, it would be "absolutely necessary" to withdraw the troops. This limit as to time would impose "a corresponding limit upon the operations which it would be prudent or possible for him to attempt." The decision on this point was left to Sir Garnet's own judgment to determine, and without fettering his discretion as the responsible officer in command of the troops in the field, he was informed of the wishes of Her Majesty's Government. These

were:—"That you should conclude a satisfactory peace as soon as it can be obtained; that you should advance no further into the interior than may be indispensable for the attainment of such a peace; and that after concluding, if possible, a treaty with the King of Ashantee, you should return with the least practicable delay to the sea-coast, and send home the European troops." With respect to the relations of England with the Protectorate after the War, Her Majesty's Government, considering the cowardly conduct of the Ashantee chiefs and people, held themselves entirely free "to place them on such a footing as the interests of this country may seem to them to require."

The European troops arrived rather inopportunely, for they were too late to strike a decisive blow—which lay in the General's power while the enemy were at Mampon, and he held Mansu on their main line of retreat—and they were too early for the march on Coomassie, the arrangements for which were not yet completed. In his letter to the Secretary for War, dated 15th of December, Sir Garnet says:—"It will not be possible to have the several halting stages, including the depôt at Prahsu, completed, and a sufficient quantity of food and ammunition in the magazines at Prahsu, before the 15th of January next."* On

* Munitions of war:—Six rocket-troughs, and five hundred rockets; three 7-pounder guns, and two hundred rounds per gun; two howitzers and one hundred rounds per gun; one million one hundred thousand

that date he expressed his intention of crossing the Prah with the three European Regiments, and a Force of Native Troops, retaining the 1st West India Regiment* in Elmina and Cape Coast, as a reserve in case of urgent need; and he concluded his letter by the assurance of his "strong hope, bordering upon conviction, that in about six weeks from the date of our crossing the Prah, I shall be able to embark the European troops, having suffered but little loss from the effects of the climate."

Until the arrangements of the advance were completed, Sir Garnet directed that the transports, with the European troops, should proceed to sea; accordingly, after the detachments of the Army Service Corps, and a portion of the Royal Engineers, together with all the Staff and Special Service Officers, had been landed, the steamers sailed on a cruise. At this time he drew up a Memorandum† for the information and guidance of the soldiers and sailors about to take part in the operations north of the Prah, of which one hundred copies were printed for distribution among the Regiments. Nothing can be more concise and complete

rounds of Snider ammunition, besides seventy rounds per man and one hundred rounds per arm. Supplies :—Provisions for thirty days for three thousand five hundred and twenty fighting men and three thousand carriers and labourers.

* This Regiment arrived from Jamaica, and disembarked at Cape Coast on the 29th of December, with a strength of twenty-four officers and five hundred and fifty-four men.

† See Appendix C.

than this Memorandum, which, according to Captain Brackenbury, "contains in it the whole essence of modern tactics." "Let those," he adds, "who think that warfare of this nature is not calculated to teach lessons useful for warfare on a grander scale, read this Order, and see whether it does not breathe in every line the spirit of the teaching of the War of 1870. It recognises, amongst other points, the vital importance of giving independence of action to small units."

These Orders were found to meet every requirement and obviate every difficulty as it arose during the advance upon Coomassie; and one innovation in the ordinary method of fighting, was found of especial service. We refer to that by which the "tactical unit" was changed, and it was enacted that "every company will be at once divided into four sections, and each section will be placed under the command of an officer or non-commissioned officer. These sections once told off are not on any account to be broken up during the War." As to the mode of fighting to be adopted by these sections, Sir Garnet directed that "in action, as a general rule, three sections only of each company will be extended, the fourth will form a support in rear of the centre of the company's skirmishing line, and at forty to eighty yards from it." At the most critical point in the action of Amoaful, on the 31st of January, these arrangements were found of the utmost vital utility, and Sir Archibald Alison, who commanded the advance, under "one of the heaviest

fires he ever saw," declared that, notwithstanding the discipline and stubborn valour of the Black Watch, "without the admirable sectional organization introduced by His Excellency, and thoroughly carried out by the company officers, it would have been impossible to prevent the men getting out of hand." These "Notes" will be of value to any soldier who may have hereafter to encounter a barbarous enemy under similar conditions, and, as forming the best code of instructions for bush-fighting, they are as valuable to the military student in the closet or the General in the field, as for mountain-warfare is the Memorandum issued by the late Sir George Pollock, on the morning of the memorable 5th of April, 1842, when, by his masterly arrangements, he succeeded in forcing the Khyber Pass.

Sir Garnet Wolseley's plan for the invasion of Ashantee, on the 15th of January, by several columns converging on Coomassie, was, briefly stated, as follows:— "On the extreme right, Captain Glover's Force was to cross the Prah near Assum, and to move upon Juabin. The main body, consisting of an European Brigade of three battalions, the Naval Brigade, Wood's and Russell's Regiments, and Rait's Artillery, was to advance from Prahsu by the main Coomassie road. As a connecting link between Captain Glover and the main body, a column composed of Western Akims, under the command of Captain Butler, was to cross at Prahsu Akim; while, on the extreme left, it was

hoped that a force of Wassaws, Denkeras, and Commendahs, under the command of Captains Dalrymple and Moore, 88th Regiment, would advance on Coomassie by the Wassaw road. Theorists on the art of war might object that Wolseley, by this plan of dividing his Force, violated the first strategical principles; but the sequel showed that he was right, and that he possessed one of the chief attributes of a general, the power of estimating the strength of his adversary.

Had the General's movements on Coomassie, been dependent on those of the three other converging columns, it is certain that the invasion of Ashantee would never have taken place, or that the attempt, if made, must have ended in failure. Captains Dalrymple and Butler failed to move the chiefs and people to whom they were accredited, to do aught towards the chastisement of the common enemy, and the latter gallant and able officer, who would have succeeded in his task if success was possible, after numberless delays, crossed the Prah with three European officers and one Fantee policeman! Eventually he persuaded five hundred of the Western Akims,—whom Captain Glover described as "the best fighting men in the Protectorate,"—to follow him a day's march through a deserted and devastated country, but at night their courage failed them, and they fled across the Prah, leaving the European officers to march on Coomassie or not, as seemed best to them. Glover, by his conduct, showed himself to be a man of resource and capacity

and a born leader of men, but the people he had to deal with would have baffled the capacity of Cæsar himself, either to make them march or fight. The native kings and chiefs assembled at Accra on the 13th of October, freely took the oath "upon the coat of Sir Charles Macarthy"—in their eyes the most sacred of all attestations—to rally to Glover's standard with thousands of retainers within a stipulated time; but having ratified their oaths by accepting the usual presents of gin and large subsidies in money, they appeared to think they had fulfilled their share of the engagement.

The arrangements for the invasion of Ashantee were all planned, when, on Christmas Eve, to the dismay of the General, a despatch, dated the 22nd of December, was received from Captain Glover—who had written on the 14th,* saying that he would cross the Prah on the 15th of January, with sixteen thousand, and possibly thirty thousand men—in which he said:—"I should be misleading Your Excellency if I stated that I saw any possibility of reaching the Prah before forty days, but I beg to assure you that no effort shall be left untried to carry a force to the point indicated."

* On the 11th of December, Glover estimated his total Force at twenty-five thousand, and said that in three or four days he "would have crossed a Force of thirteen thousand men into the Ahwoonah country." On the same day, Sir Garnet Wolseley gave him instructions, through his Chief of the Staff, that "he considers it desirable that you should be established with all your available Force on the river Prah by the 15th of January, ready to advance in the direction

Upon receipt of this despatch, Sir Garnet Wolseley adopted a bold course, and one that many men would have shrunk from. He determined to take upon himself the responsibility of ordering Glover to cross the Prah on the 15th of January, and commence his share of the combined movement on Coomassie, with the Houssas and Yorubas, who numbered less than one thousand men; and, accordingly, the Chief of the Staff wrote, on Christmas Eve, to Captain Glover to that effect.

Sir Garnet Wolseley also sent a private letter to Captain Glover, fully explaining his views. He said:—

—"To enable you to carry out your engagement, I have run myself tolerably dry as regards money here, and am now compelled to use the authority confided to me, and to order you in the despatch which accompanies this letter, to march all your disciplined troops to the Prah, and to cross that river on the 15th of next month with them and the eleven thousand Akims now collected at Janketty. The quarrels between the tribes to the east of the Volta can be settled at any time, but the Ashantee War, to prosecute which both you and I have been sent to this country, can only be disposed of Coomassie when you receive orders from him to that effect," to which Glover replied on the 14th of December:—"I shall be established on the banks of the river Prah by the 15th January, with all the available Force that I may be enabled to assemble;" and added: "The Force with which I shall cross the Prah from Eastern Akim will be, at the lowest estimate, sixteen thousand effectives—possibly thirty thousand men, all told."

of *now;* it won't wait, the Ahwoonah business will." Captain Glover, in his reply of the 28th of December, said:—"Nor can I be responsible for the results that may attend the following out of your Excellency's instructions I now receive. I expect to be on the Prah by the 10th proximo, with a force of Houssas and Yorubas numbering seven hundred men." And Captain Glover, waiving his own views, carried out the instructions of his military chief with loyalty and promptness.

In meting out the praise so justly due to Captain Glover for the energy and military skill he displayed throughout those eventful months in West Africa, it should be borne in mind that he formally declined to accept the responsibility for the course he adopted, and that Wolseley as formally accepted it. Had it not been for Sir Garnet's positive orders to Captain Glover to cross the Prah on the 15th of January, it is certain he would not have been on the northern bank of that river before the date of the capture of Coomassie, and then, as the General plainly informed him, he might, as far as being of any service in the prosecution of this Ashantee War was concerned, have been "operating on the Zanzibar coast of Africa."

Wolseley started for Prahsu on the 27th of December, and inspected the various camping stations on the road, and saw that all was prepared for the small army that was soon to follow. As far as Mansu, the fourth station, and thirty-two miles distant from Cape Coast, the road passed through low bush with little or no

shelter from the blazing sun, but from thence to the Prah the pathway lay through the forest, the gigantic trees of which, festooned and encircled with creepers, rose more than two hundred feet above the head of the passer-by, with a girth at the roots of between fifty and ninety feet; no colour lit up the infinite gradations of endless green, which palled upon the jaded sight, and the shades of the primeval forest were never penetrated by the sun's rays.

Sir Garnet's old wound in the leg, received in the Crimea, had troubled him much since that dreadful march on the 28th of October, from Abrakrampa to Assanchi, and he was compelled to perform the journey to the Prah in a light American buggy, which was found at Cape Coast. This vehicle was left at Prahsu, and for the remainder of the march between the river and Coomassie, except at those frequent intervals when the nature of the road, or the proximity of the enemy, required that he should walk, Sir Garnet was carried by Natives, seated in a wicker Madeira chair, fixed between two bamboos, and carried by relays of four bearers. On New Year's day he arrived at Barraco —the last station from Cape Coast, from which it is sixty-three miles distant—where was stationed a detachment of the Naval Brigade, who had been here for three weeks, and, like sailors all the world over, were doing their utmost to enjoy themselves and make the best of it. Over the huge camp fire, replenished by two or three entire trunks of trees,

they sang their forecastle songs and made the forest ring with choruses bawled out with stentorian lungs. On this night there gathered on one side of the fire the General with his staff and the officers of the detachment, and, on the other, the sailors, who stepped out in succession and gave a selection of songs, sentimental and comic.

On his arrival at Prahsu on the 2nd of January, 1874, he found in garrison, fifty of Rait's Houssa Artillery (with seven three-pounders, two howitzers, a Gatling gun, and six rocket troughs), seventy men of the 2nd West, and Wood's and Russell's Native Regiments, numbering four hundred and fifty, and five hundred men respectively. These had been engaged making a clearing and cutting down acres of palm leaves for thatching, and thousands of poles for uprights for the huts, for their own and the European lines, which were made under the supervision of Major Home and Captain Buckle. It was not until the 15th of January that this work was completed, and the camp at Prahsu ready for the reception of two thousand European troops, with the necessary accommodation for the Staff and the stores of the Control Department.

During Sir Garnet's stay at Prahsu, a correspondence took place between himself and the King of Ashantee. Scarcely had he arrived at the camp than two messengers from Coomassie made their appearance at Prahsu with two letters* from their master, dated the

* These letters were written in English, at the dictation of King

25th of November and 26th of December, which, like those that followed, were signed by "the mark" of Koffee Kalkalli and some of his ministers.

As it was evident by the second letter, that the insignificant affair at Faysowah, had been magnified into a great victory by those about the King, Sir Garnet wrote him a long letter, opening his eyes as to the true state of affairs, and stating the terms upon which a lasting peace could alone be concluded. In order also to show the messenger that he had the means wherewith to enforce his demands, the General, on the 3rd of January, paraded before them the Naval Brigade—twenty-two officers and two hundred fifty-one seamen and Marines—which marched in on that day, having left Cape Coast on the 27th of December. This detachment formed the pick of the squadron, and it is not too much to say that a finer body of men were never assembled under arms. After marching through a double line of these men, the envoys were taken to witness some practice with Captain Rait's Gatling gun, and though they looked on with well-bred imperturbability, it created a powerful effect on their minds, for during the night of the 4th of January, one of them shot himself. The envoys were sent back to their master on the morning of the 6th of January, with Sir Garnet's letter, and

Koffee, by Dawson, a Fantee, who had been sent up to Coomassie, by Colonel Harley, to interpret a former message to the King, by whom he had been detained.

passed through the Naval Brigade, which had been sent across the bridge over the Prah that morning, in order to make them believe that the march on Coomassie had already commenced. On the 12th, an Ashantee envoy, said to be a member of the Royal family, with a suite of fifteen persons and accompanied by Mr. Kuhne, a German missionary, was reported to have arrived near the Prah with a letter from the King. The envoy was directed to halt near the advanced post, and, on the following morning, Mr. Kuhne* and a messenger were brought into camp with the King's letter, which bore date the 9th of January.

The Ashantee envoy expressed great disappointment at not being permitted to see the Gatling gun, and have an interview with Sir Garnet Wolseley, and said that his master had directed him to urge the British General not to advance with his troops, in order to avoid further fighting with the Ashantee army. But Sir Garnet estimated at their right value the professions of King Koffee; and as that potentate had failed

* Much information was gleaned from Mr. Kuhne regarding the position of affairs at Ashantee, and the feelings of the King and chiefs. Amanquatia's Army had reached Coomassie on the 22nd of December, and had been disbanded after defiling past the King in the great square with wild shouts and gesticulations, each chief dancing before the King as described by Bowdich in 1817. The King had sent for the missionaries, in whose presence Sir Garnet Wolseley's letter had been correctly interpreted to him by Mr. Dawson; and, when dispatching Mr. Kuhne with his reply, desired him to tell the British General of his earnest wish for peace.

to comply with his demands, which had been stated with unmistakeable clearness in his letter to which it was an answer, Sir Garnet contented himself with iterating his ultimatum to the King.

Tne 2nd West India Regiment marched into camp at Prahsu, on the 4th of January, when the difficulties of transport, owing to the desertion of the carriers, which had been daily increasing, assumed such alarming proportions, that the success of the Expedition was imperilled. The number of troops fixed by Sir Garnet Wolseley, for whom transport was imperatively required, was two thousand five hundred and four Europeans of all ranks, and one thousand and fifty Native levies, including two huudred men of the 2nd West India Regiment.*

The ships, with the European troops,having returned

* For these troops the number of carriers required, on the lowest scale, was three thousand five hundred, being one carrier to every three European soldiers, and one to each officer, besides two hundred and forty for the cots of each European Regiment, and others for the ammunition and camp equipment, which brought up the total for one battalion to six hundred and fifty-four. It was roughly calculated that to supply one European battalion daily with provisions sixty additional carriers were required for every day's march, and between four and five hundred to keep up the daily supply at Prahsu from Cape Coast. Two hundred and six carriers were only required for each of the Native Regiments, as the rank and file were their own carriers. In addition to this total, Colonel Colley estimated that he would require for the transport of the supplies and ammunition, and to carry back the sick and wounded, five thousand local carriers, divided equally between the north and south banks of the Prah.

to Cape Coast as directed, the Rifle Brigade was disembarked on New Year's Day, and marched direct from the beach to Inquabim, which was reached in three hours. They were followed by the 42nd Highlanders.

Colonel Colley expected a sufficient number of carriers to provide transport for the three battalions of Europeans, but, between the 31st of December and the 3rd of January, he received information of the desertion of the Natives by hundreds, and on his reporting this state of affairs to the Brigadier-General, Sir Archibald promptly suspended the disembarkation of the second half-battalion of the Fusiliers and the Royal Artillery, which was in progress. On learning the position of affairs, Sir Garnet at once issued orders that the first half-battalion of the Fusiliers, which had proceeded as far as Accroful, should return and re-embark at Cape Coast; and arrangements were forthwith made to employ the 2nd West India and Wood's Regiments, as carriers, as a temporary measure. The Kroomen of the Naval Brigade were also sent back to Mansu for loads, and Russell's Regiment alone marched to the Prah on the 5th, as it was required to lead the advance.

It was with great regret the General deprived himself of the services of such a Regiment as the 23rd; but as the Brigadier-General had first landed the 42nd, who were now in front, there was no alternative course, if the march to Coomassie was to be conducted without

the certainty of failure, or disaster, as regards the supply of the troops; however, to soften the disappointment to many gallant men, who, perhaps, felt that as they had been despatched first from England, and arrived on the Coast before the Highlanders, they had a prior claim, if such a term can be employed to the conditions of military service, Sir Garnet Wolseley ultimately arranged that the head-quarters, under Colonel the Honourable S. Mostyn, and one hundred men, should accompany him into Ashantee, and an equal number of the 42nd were re-embarked on board ship.

In consequence of the break-down of the Control, on the 6th of January the Highlanders were ordered to halt at Yancoomassie-Fantee and Mansu, thus saving the labour of nearly two hundred and fifty carriers per day, until the depôt at Prahsu was filled; and, on the following day, the Rifle Brigade were ordered to halt at Yancoomassie-Assin and Barraco, the carriers of both Regiments being placed under Colonel Colley's orders. The General also made a call upon the men of the 2nd West India Regiment, to act as carriers, to which they responded in the most creditable manner, but the order was withdrawn in a few days. The Highlanders also nobly came forward, and one hundred and thirty-five men, under the command of Captain Moore, volunteered to carry stores to Sutah, a march of eleven miles, through a dense forest. Some hand-barrows were hastily put together, but these speedily coming to grief,

the men took the fifty pound boxes of rice on their heads and shoulders, and, with this unaccustomed burden, marched the eleven miles in good style, returning to their camp at Mansu the same evening. Sir Garnet, on hearing what had been done, at once put a stop to it, as, in such a climate, the work would have been too severe a tax upon white men, but he requested the chief magistrate of Cape Coast, to put in force the law compelling the Natives to work, a step which had become necessary in the interest of the Fantees themselves, to prevent the failure of the Expedition and the return of the Ashantees on the withdrawal of the European troops.

Accordingly, Sir Archibald Alison ordered a cordon of troops to surround the town of Cape Coast, which the police then searched for deserters; only forty, however, were obtained by these means, and two hundred and seventy men, in the pay of the merchants, were pressed by permission of their masters. The Brigadier-General continued his efforts by doubling the allowance for rations, offering £50 to the chiefs for every five hundred able-bodied men they raised, and "driving" for carriers in the Elmina and the surrounding villages; while Sir Garnet issued a Proclamation, that unless the Native kings assisted the Army in this matter of transport, he would re-embark his whole Force, and leave them to the mercy of their enemies. Large additions were thus made to the number of carriers, and, at length, by the exertions

of his assistants, consisting of twenty-two Special Service, and six Control officers, Colonel Colley was enabled, on the 15th of January, to report that the transport difficulty had been surmounted. At that date he had collected four thousand two hundred men and twelve hundred and fifty women, "local" carriers, exclusive of the regimental carriers, being two thousand in excess of the numbers estimated as necessary to maintain communication with Prahsu; and he hoped, by the 22nd of January, when thirty days' rations would be collected at that post, to have fifteen hundred carriers ready to commence fresh depôts. Under these circumstances, Sir Garnet Wolseley decided that the passage of the Prah, by European troops, should commence on the 20th of January, which was five days later than he originally projected, the delay having arisen in consequence of the desertion of the carriers.

On the 8th of January, the 28th Company of the Royal Engineers arrived in camp from Cape Coast, and Major Home, who had finished his "crib" bridge over the Prah on the 6th, was enabled to push on the work at the *tête-de-pont* on the north bank. The monotony and inaction of camp life were beginning to tell on both European officers and men; twenty-two of the Naval Brigade were on the sick list, and of the Staff, Major Baker, Mr. Irvine, Lieutenant Maurice, and the two aides-de-camp, Captain Lanyon and Lieutenant the Honourable H. L. Wood, were seized with fever.

One of the Staff, an officer distinguished no less for his accomplishments and zeal than for his amiability, was doomed to pay the penalty of his life for his ardour in his country's service. Captain George L. Huyshe, of the Rifle Brigade, whose name has so frequently been before our readers in the Red River Expedition, was taken ill with dysentery on the 10th of January, and the complaint being complicated with malarious fever, he succumbed on the 9th, after an illness of only nine days. He had been engaged up to the end of the year in surveying, and, having completed the results at Cape Coast, had only joined head-quarters within one week of being seized with the illness that proved fatal. He was laid to rest in a lovely spot, at the foot of a noble cotton tree, on the 20th of January, the very morning when the first European troops crossed into Ashantee territory, thus inaugurating the campaign in which he had so longed to participate.*

The first entry into the enemy's country was made on the 5th of January, by Russell's Regiment, five hundred strong, and the scouts, which the General had placed under the command of Lieutenant Lord Gifford, 24th Regiment, who had displayed high military qualities as Adjutant of Russell's Regiment.

* By a subscription among his brother officers of the 1st Battalion Rifle Brigade, a marble tablet has been erected to his memory in the south aisle of Winchester Cathedral, in close proximity to the memorial to Hedley Vicars and his comrades of the 97th Regiment.

This young officer marched to Essiaman, twelve miles in advance of Prahsu, and, on the arrival of Russell's Regiment on the 7th, pushed on with one hundred and seventy scouts to Ansah, and thence to the Foomoosu River, meeting with no opposition.

On the 12th of January he occupied Accrofoomu, and, on the following day, was followed by Russell's Regiment and the rocket party, together with Major Home and his Engineers. The head-quarters of the 2nd West India Regiment crossed the river, and marched to Essiaman on the 13th, whither, two days later, Wood's Regiment and Rait's Artillery also proceeded. Lord Gifford reached the foot of the Moinsey Hill on the 16th of January, and, on the following day, Major Russell occupied and fortified the crest of the Moinsey Hill. On the 18th, Lord Gifford advanced to Quisah, the frontier town in Ashantee proper, and, the next morning, Major Russell moved down from the Moinsey Hill and occupied it.

In consequence of the enemy having thus evacuated the entire country to the south of the Adansi Hills, Sir Garnet Wolseley was gratified to find that the date he had originally fixed for reaching that point would not be departed from, notwithstanding that, owing to the desertion of the carriers, he had been obliged to alter the day for crossing the Prah with his European troops, from the 15th to the 20th of January. Early in the same morning, the General, with his Staff and the Naval Brigade, temporarily commanded by Captain

Luxmoore,* proceeded to Essiaman, and Colonel McLeod, 42nd Highlanders, who had been summoned from Mansu, pushed on to Quisah to take command of the advanced guard, now consisting of Wood's and Russell's Regiments, Rait's Artillery, and the head-quarters of the 2nd West India, the whole forming what was generally known as the "Black Brigade."

The General took up his quarters at Essiaman in the old Assin village, situated on a hill surrounded by a small clearing. On the morning of the 21st, accompanied by the Naval Brigade, he proceeded, by an admirable road, to Accrofoomu, where Major Home had constructed a work of the type of the New Zealand pah, a description of fort admirably designed for defence, as our soldiers and sailors learned to their cost during our New Zealand Wars. Sir Garnet and his Staff took up their quarters for the night in the store shed, thatched with palm leaves, inside the work, a portion of the Naval Brigade and detachment of the 2nd West India encamping outside in their tents, where they made wattle beds, well off the ground, of sticks gathered in the adjoining forest.

Commodore W. N. W. Hewett, V.C., C.B., one of the most distinguished officers of the Navy, who had left England in Her Majesty's ship 'Active' on the 14th

* Captain Blake, of the 'Druid,' who had hitherto commanded the Naval Brigade with such credit to himself, had been attacked by dysentery, and died almost immediately after his arrival at Cape Coast.

November, to assume command of the squadron on the West coast of Africa, arrived at Accrofoomu late in the day, accompanied by his flag-lieutenant, Lieutenant Rolfe, R.N., who, as his chief was present with the force *en amateur*, was placed on Sir Garnet's Staff as Naval aide-de-camp. The sailors received the gallant Commodore, who is very popular in the Service, with hearty cheers. Captain Grubbe, R.N., Her Majesty's ship 'Tamar,' arrived in camp at the same time, and assumed command of the Naval Brigade, and Surgeon-Major Mackinnon, the principal medical officer, also joined head-quarters. During the night, the Kroomen of the Naval Brigade, who, though of Herculean build, are abject cowards, fancying that the Ashantees were upon them, fled panic-stricken into the sleeping camp; the sailors stood to their arms with great promptness and presence of mind, but some time elapsed before the General and the officers, who all turned out, were able to restore order.

On the 22nd, head-quarters marched to Moinsey, where Wood's Regiment and Rait's Artillery were camped, and the General, accompanied by his Staff, proceeded to the summit of the steep Adansi Hill, by a zigzag road made by the indefatigable Major Home, whence a fine view was had of the surrounding country. It was with eager interest that every eye was turned northwards to the promised land of conquest, which stretched in the direction of Coomassie, a vista of hills, ridge upon ridge, all covered with the dense African

forest, and partially shrouded by the mist which is never wholly dispelled by the sun. During the 23rd, when the General halted at Moinsey, the Rifle Brigade marched in, when the Naval Brigade and Rait's Artillery descended the Adansi Hill to Quisah, Russell's Regiment, with a detachment of Engineers, pushing on to Fommanah.

On this day envoys arrived with the remainder of the white prisoners,* and a letter, dated 21st of January, from the Ashantee monarch, in which, after promising acceptance of his terms, he says:—"I beg also you would stop the progress of the Forces, and let us go on with peaceful negotiation. I will make Amankwatia, who has acted contrary to my instructions, pay the amount Your Excellency ask, if you can only keep patience and stop the advancement of the Forces."

But the wily savage made a mistake when he calculated that Wolseley was to be taken in by specious promises, even though he had given, what an unwary General might have considered, a proof of his good faith in releasing the European captives. The Fantee prisoners were still retained, and Wolseley knew that these earnest and repeated supplications for delay were only made to enable him to gather together his disbanded army for one final effort to save his crown and carry in triumph to his capital the soldier who, by

* These were M. Bonnet, a French merchant, and Mr. and Mrs. Ramseyer and their two children.

defeating his armies and crossing the Prah, hitherto held inviolate from the foot of a white conqueror, had confuted the tradition which, for two centuries, had enchained the popular imagination. Still, a considerable instalment of his original demand had been obtained by the release of the white prisoners, and the General, while not abating one jot of his determination to push on until his terms were satisfied in their entirety, despatched to Her Majesty's Government the following telegram* by a special messenger, and requested the Commodore to send a ship immediately to Gibraltar with it:—"King will pay indemnity I have demanded, amounting to £200,000. He accepts the terms offered. The white prisoners are all now with us. Shall halt a few days at Fommanah, which is about thirty miles from Coomassie. Everything goes on well."

* This telegram was sent from Moinsey, at about six p.m. on the 23rd, by the hands of a police-runner, who reached Prahsu, thirty-two and a-half miles distant, at daybreak next morning. Thence an officer was sent by Colonel Festing to Barraco, the nearest telegraph station, with orders to repeat the despatch, which was in two ciphers, to the Colonial and War Offices. By half-past ten the despatch had been repeated from Cape Coast; and the same evening the 'Sarmatian' sailed for Gibraltar, making the passage in nine days. Thence it was telegraphed to London, so that news from the Adansi hills was published in the metropolis in less than ten days. When the telegram appeared in the daily papers on the morning of the 5th of February, it was pretty generally pronounced to be an electioneering hoax to influence the fate of the Gladstone Ministry, then wavering in the balance.

Owing to the rapid advance of the troops, who had outstripped the transport, the halt at Fommanah was absolutely essential for the formation of a depôt of supplies by Colonel Colley,* who, by a General Order, had been placed in charge of the line of communication between the front and Cape Coast, including the command of all the posts on the road, which, as involving military duties, could only be held by a combatant officer of high rank.

The delay also effected a double purpose, "as it gave the appearance to the King of Ashantee of his halting in compliance with his request, so that every chance would be given him for carrying out his promises." That Sir Garnet was not deceived by these promises, appears from the letter he despatched from Fommanah on the succeeding day, in which he said:—"I intend to go to Coomassie. It is for your Majesty to decide whether I go there as your friend or as your enemy." If in the former capacity, he demanded as hostages, the King's mother and heir, and the heirs of four other tributary princes; also the Fantee prisoners, and a portion of the indemnity. He then added:—"I shall then proceed to Coomassie with an escort of only about five hundred English soldiers, in order to make a

* On the 22nd of January, this able officer issued at Mansu his revised "Transport Orders," their object being "to combine the transport stations with the hospital stations already established along the line, and the general working of the transport with the arrangements for the carriage of sick and wounded, drawn up by Dr. Home."

Treaty of Peace with Your Majesty. The sooner I receive these guarantees, the sooner will my armies halt; and in order to allow Your Majesty to fulfil my demands without trouble, I shall only advance very slowly with this Army during the next few days. An officer of rank has conferred with your messengers, and I shall have much pleasure in conferring with Your Majesty personally when I arrive at Coomassie."

On the 24th, head-quarters, with the Rifle Brigade, followed Russell's Regiment to Fommanah, where Sir Garnet and his Staff occupied the palace of Cobbina Obbin, the King of Adansi, "a large building, consisting of several open courts communicating with each other, and each surrounded by rooms closed on three sides, but open on the fourth into the court."

On the 25th of January, Wood's and Russell's Regiments, with Rait's Artillery, advanced to Dompoassie, nearly three miles distant, and the head-quarters and one wing of the 42nd Highlanders, which had crossed the Prah on the 22nd inst., arrived at Quisah, the remainder of the Regiment, with the head-quarters of the 23rd Welsh Fusiliers, which had quitted Prahsu on the following day, marching into Moinsey. There were now between the front and Prahsu, six fortified posts, viz., summit of Adansi Hill, Moinsey cross-roads, on Parakoom river, Accrofoomu, Essiaman, and the bridge-head north of the Prah.

Sir Garnet inspected the Rifles on the 25th of January, when there appeared on parade five hundred

and ninety-one officers and men, out of a total strength of six hundred and eighty-four, seventy-seven having been left behind sick, and nine being in hospital at Fommanah. On the same day, the returns showed that in the Naval Brigade, forty-eight were sick out of a total of two hundred and fifty; thirty-eight were sick in the 23rd Fusiliers, and fifty-one in the 42nd Highlanders. In consequence of this serious diminution in his fighting force, which included only one thousand eight hundred Europeans on shore, the General ordered that ten officers and two hundred rank and file of the Fusiliers, should be landed and proceed forthwith to Prahsu, and this reinforcement was of the utmost service in keeping open the communications when the Force pushed on to Coomassie.

On the following day Colonel McLeod made a reconnaissance from Dompoassie to Adubiassie, in order to drive away straggling Ashantees from the bush paths to the left, and prevent them from cutting the communications, if the King of Fommanah meditated any such design; and Colonel Wood, with a small force, proceeded to co-operate along the main road to Kiang Boassu.

In the evening Sir Garnet inspected the Highlanders and the detachment of the Fusiliers, who were concentrated at Quisah, and certainly had no cause to complain of the material with which he proposed to reduce the recalcitrant monarch of Ashantee, to whom he again repeated his demands.

On the 27th, the Naval Brigade marched to Medowna, close to the right of Kiang Boassu, to which, on the following day, the head-quarters and detachment of the Fusiliers, one hundred in number, proceeded, and were attached to the advanced guard under Colonel McLeod. Meanwhile Lord Gifford had scouted as far as Insarfu, and information being received that the King of Adansi was at Borborassie with one thousand men, Colonel McLeod received the General's permission to make a reconnaissance towards the place, with the strict injunction that he was not to fire first or to burn villages, so that no hostile action on his part might interfere with the conclusion of peace. Colonel McLeod started on the morning of the 29th of January, with a small force, which included the Naval Brigade, and, after a march of three hours from Kiang Boassu, reached the village, out of which the Ashantees were driven, though not without the loss on our side of Captain Nicoll,* who was shot dead while gallantly leading the advance into the village at the head of the Annamaboe company of Russell's Regiment.

On this day head-quarters arrived at Detchiasu, where Sir Garnet received two letters from King

* On receipt of the news of the death of Captain Nicoll, who it was known left a wife and family, a sum of £80 was subscribed at Sir Garnet Wolseley's table, the General himself heading the subscription list with £20; and when, some months later, the Company of Grocers in London placed at his disposal a sum of £250 for the benefit of the sufferers by this war, he presented Captain Nicoll's widow with half the amount.

Koffee, reiterating his request that the British Forces should stay their advance on his capital; and a note from Mr. Dawson, in which he said:—"Please see 2 Corinthians, chap. ii., verse 11." A reference to the Bible disclosed Mr. Dawson's meaning, so ingeniously hidden by this device. The text ruus:—"Lest Satan should get an advantage over us, for we are not ignorant of his devices." This confirmation was, however, scarcely needed to convince Sir Garnet that the wily African monarch was playing him false, and was seeking for excuses in order to gain time to gather together his Army. The messengers were only detained a few minutes while the General wrote, repeating his demands and concluding:—"I halted four days at Fommanah to please Your Majesty. I cannot halt again until you have complied with my terms."

On the 30th of January the advanced guard, consisting of Wood's and Russell's Regiments, moved from Insarfu to Quarman, holding the passage of the Dansaboo stream, and strongly intrenching themselves; also head-quarters, with the Rifle Brigade, 42nd Highlanders, and Rait's Artillery, moved to Insarfu; and the Naval Brigade, 23rd Fusiliers, with field hospitals and ammunition reserve, to Ahkankuassie, three miles in the rear. The 2nd West India Regiment moved up to Adaduassie, and the 1st West India were ordered to the front from Essiaman.

The last day of January is memorable in the annals of the Ashantee War, as that on which the treacherou

African monarch threw off the mask, and boldly staked his crown and *prestige* for invincibility on the arbitrament of battle. On that day the following was the position of the three other columns, which, as Sir Garnet Wolseley so candidly informed the King, would simultaneously invade his territories and converge upon his capital of Coomassie. Captain Butler proceeded in November, 1873, on a special mission to the kings of Western Akim, to induce them to march with all their fighting men upon the flank and rear of the Ashantee Army; but though they crossed the Prah with him and Captain Brabazon, on the 20th of January, the entire Force, one thousand four hundred strong, bolted panic-struck, on the 30th, when, as he said, his junction with the main body at Amoaful, "was only a question of some hours." Captain Butler joined head-quarters at Agemmanu on the 7th of February, during the return march from Coomassie, but though he failed in the main object of his mission, he created a valuable diversion by drawing away from the enemy's main Army at Amoaful, the whole fighting Force of Kokofoo, which assembled to bar his progress, and were thus not only prevented from taking part in the action of the 31st of January, but were too late to oppose the subsequent advance of the British Army.

Even less was the measure of success that rewarded the efforts of Captains Dalrymple and Moore, of the 88th Regiment, who had been despatched on a mission to the Kings of Wassaw and Denkera, to induce them

to invade Ashantee by the Wassaw path, thus acting on the left flank of the main line of advance. On the 24th of January, when the British advance guard was at Fommanah, he had succeeded, in three weeks, in assembling at Kotakee, only fifty men, and was compelled to give up the attempt in despair on the 30th of January. Though his mission collapsed even more signally than Captain Butler's, it was not wholly barren of results, for the King of Becquah, one of the tributaries of Koffee Kalkali, assembled his men to oppose an advance on the left flank of the invading Army.

But most important and successful, in every sense, was the diversion created by the gallant advance of Captain Glover, who, in accordance with Sir Garnet Wolseley's orders, crossed the Prah on the 15th of January, with seven hundred and forty Houssas and Yorubas. To do so,—as he said in his lecture at the United Service Institution on the 17th of May, 1874,—"he sacrificed clothes, provisions, and everything, to get up the ammunition." On the 16th of January, the town of Abogoo was captured, and, on the 23rd, Lieutenant Barnard took Prahsu, and, on the 26th, Odumassie,—which commands the road in the rear from Connomo to Juabin, and also that to Coomassie, from which it is some twenty-five or thirty miles distant. Captain Glover joined Barnard here, and, on the 1st of February, despatched Captain Sartorius across the Anoom river, to open communication with Captain

Butler's Force, which he supposed was operating between his own and the main Army; and this gallant officer, with only one hundred and thirty men, advanced through two large Ashantee camps, but, finding his rear cut off, he despatched forty Houssas back to Captain Glover, who sent Lieutenant Barnard to reinforce him with one hundred and fifty men, when the combined force routed the enemy, and rejoined Captain Glover at Odumassie. To return to the movements of the main Army under Sir Garnet Wolseley.

Lord Gifford reconnoitred the Ashantee position beyond Egginassie during the night of the 29th of January, and Major Home continued cutting the road up to within one hundred yards of that village. As Colonel McLeod reported that the enemy in front were in great force, and it became evident that a general action was imminent, Sir Garnet Wolseley, on the 30th of January, issued the following instructions:—

"The troops will advance to-morrow, at an hour which will be hereafter decided, in the following order: 42nd Highlanders; Rait's guns; Naval Brigade; Rait's rockets; 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers; Rifle Brigade. Wood's and Russell's Regiments, which are now in advance, will be drawn up on the side of the road, and will, on the above column reaching them, strike in between the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers and Rifle Brigade.

"On approaching the enemy, the troops will be formed, the front line being commanded by Brigadier-

General Sir A. Alison, the left flank by Colonel McLeod, the right flank by Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, V.C., and the rear by Lieutenant-Colonel Warren, Rifle Brigade.

"The regimental reserve ammunition will be inside the square on the road, that of the Rifle Brigade being in front of the battalion. Regiments must furnish a guard on their ammunition, and arrange for keeping their men supplied.

"The hammocks and bearers will also be inside the square. Every man of the Force will carry one day's full ration of sausage and cheese. A reserve of supplies will be formed at Insarfu. The main road will be cleared as far as possible with the troops, by the Royal Engineers, who will cut roads on each side of, and three hundred yards from, the main road. The 42nd Highlanders must be careful in their advance to lean in upon the guns, so as not to leave them without support."

The instructions further directed that the baggage of all troops at Insarfu, with the field hospitals and reserve ammunition column, was to be packed at that station, of which Colonel Webber was placed in command, and the baggage of the Naval Brigade and Fusiliers was to be packed at Ahkankuassie.

Sir Garnet Wolseley's design in forming the Force into four columns* facing outwards, similar to the four

* It is somewhat strange that this formation of a square, with the sides facing outwards, is enjoined by Vegetius, in his "Maxims," just one thousand five hundred years ago, as the best, where your troops are superior in quality and *morale* to those of the enemy.

sides of a square, is thus expressed by himself when reporting the successful result of his strategy: "As the leading column advanced northward the left column, according to orders previously issued, cut a path diagonally to the left front, with a view of protecting the left flank of the front column; and as it moved along this path, the right column closing up, cut a path diagonally to the right to protect the right flank, while the rear column extended, so as to gain touch of the right and left columns which were designed to follow the flanks of the front column, and, should it be outflanked, to face east and west outwards. My intention was to fight in the form of a square, and so oppose the invariable flanking tactics of the enemy, which their superior numbers would probably allow them to carry out against any line which I could form."

The total Force of all ranks and arms, numbered two thousand two hundred and seventeen men, viz.: one hundred and thirty-four officers of all ranks, one thousand three hundred and seventy-five Europeans, and seven hundred and eight Native soldiers.

At daybreak, on the 31st of January, the advance column, commanded by Sir Archibald Alison, marched from the camp at Insarfu, and, at half-past seven, Sir Garnet Wolseley moved off with the detachment of the 23rd Fusiliers. Soon after eight, Lord Gifford's scouts had the honour of receiving the first shot from the enemy, when they took the village of Egginassie with a rush. The two advance companies of the Highlanders,

under Major Macpherson, now proceeded up the main road, and the heavy fire they quickly drew upon themselves showed that the Ashantees were in force; whereupon they were reinforced by a third company. As the enemy began thus early to resort to their favourite movement of turning his flank, Sir Archibald ordered two companies of the Highlanders, under Major Baird, to proceed along a path to the left, keeping three companies in reserve. On reaching a rise in the ground, he saw at once the strength of the position the enemy had taken up in great force, on a ridge beyond a low swampy hollow, through which a sluggish stream flowed; this ridge was their main position, and the enemy's camp extended along it for a great distance on either side of the road. Major Baird at once attacked the ridge, which projected forward in the shape of a semicircle, on the left completely enveloping the flank, and sweeping with its fire not only the path descending into the swamp,—along which Major Macpherson was endeavouring to force his way—but the swamp itself and the path on the other side. The fire at this time was tremendous, and it was fortunate indeed that the Ashantee arms and ammunition were of a wretched description, as it is scarcely too much to say, that no infantry in the world could have continued to advance on so strong a position in the face of such a *feu d'enfer*, for, as the *Times's* correspondent, who was with the advance, said, "the leaves fell just as they do on an English Autumn day when there is a strong wind."

Major Scott was now directed to advance with two companies of the reserve, but still the enemy's fire could not be reduced.

The Brigadier-General reported at nine o'clock to Sir Garnet Wolseley :—"I am heavily engaged with a large force in my front and left flank. Six companies are in action, and I have only two in reserve. I would like some support." And a little later he reported, "Surgeons are much wanted in the front; please send one or two, if they can be spared." Writing of this period of the action, Sir Archibald says in his despatch :—"The peculiarities of Ashantee warfare were now strongly developed. We were in the midst of a semicircle of hostile fire, and we hardly ever caught sight of a man. As company after company of the 42nd descended, with their pipes, into the ravine, they were almost immediately lost sight of in the bush, and their position could only be judged of from the sharp crack of their rifles, in contradistinction to the loud, dull roar of the Ashantee musketry."

After describing some of the difficulties incidental to fighting with an unseen and numerous enemy in a dense bush, he continues :—"All these difficulties were, however, overcome by the wonderful coolness and discipline of the men, and the admirable way in which they were handled by the company officers. The orders to all were to regard the road as if the colours of the Regiment were on it, and never to lose their connection with it; but without the admirable sectional

organization introduced by his Excellency, and thoroughly carried out by the company officers, it would have been impossible to prevent the men getting out of hand. The Ashantees stood admirably, and kept up one of the heaviest fires I ever was under. While opposing our front attack with immensly superior numbers, they kept enveloping our left with a constant series of well-directed flank attacks."

At this time Major Baird, Major Home, and a great number of men were wounded, and the Brigadier-General, who had applied to Sir Garnet for support, owns that he "was getting very anxious as to the result," when the two left detached flank companies, which had themselves been heavily engaged, most opportunily came in and joined the reserve, having been unable to force their way through the bush sufficiently quick to accompany the advance of the main column. Sir Archibald at once pushed the remaining reserve company into action, and, very shortly after, sent one of the flank companies, which had just returned, also to the front, and thus the 42nd had, at this time, seven companies engaged, and one in reserve. But as the enemy still "held his ground stoutly in the front and left flank," the Brigadier-General applied to Wolseley for some of the Rifle Brigade, as his men "were getting tired from continuous fighting," and his "loss in wounded was pretty severe." Half-an-hour later Sir Garnet received from him a second despatch, dated "10 a.m., in front of Amoaful," to the effect that

the enemy held their ground steadily, and he had not yet been able to carry the village; and asking for a reinforcement of half a battalion of Rifles.

Sir Garnet immediately sent one company, but the enemy could not have been driven out of their strong position without very considerable loss, had it not been for Major Rait, who brought his guns into action with equal gallantry and judiciousness. Crossing the swamp and proceeding up the path under a hot fire, he quickly got one gun into action and fired up the ascent, in rapid succession, fourteen or fifteen rounds of case into the dense masses of the Ashantees. The Highlanders now carried the position with a rush, and, after Rait had well dosed the enemy, who had taken up a second position on a ridge behind it, the gallant 42nd again advanced, and this position also was carried. "This," said the Brigadier-General, "was the last serious stand of the enemy. The breaking of their centre immediately diminished the severity of their flank attacks, which soon died away."

Meanwhile, the flanking columns were not idle. Colonel McLeod, on the left, with the right wing of the Naval Brigade, under Captain Grubbe, R.N., and Russell's Regiment, had been busy cutting a path into the bush in a north-westerly direction and then north, according to the plan laid down by the General. Captain Buckle, R.E. encouraged his labourers both by word and example, but the fire they encountered while endeavouring to keep pace with the rapid advance of the

42nd to the hollow on the right, was very heavy, and that gallant officer fell mortally wounded. At length a path was cut to the crest of the hill, whence the rockets, under Lieutenant Palmer, R.A., opened a destructive fire, and two companies of Russell's Regiment advanced and drove the Ashantees out of their camp. Colonel McLeod had cleared his front, but, having lost touch of the left of the front column, now cut his way in a north-easterly direction and came into the main road in rear of the Highlanders, about the same hour that the advance occupied Amoaful. "I protected his left rear," says Sir Garnet, "by a detachment of the Rifle Brigade; our left flank was now apparently clear of the enemy."

Colonel Wood also advanced from Egginassie with the left wing of the Naval Brigade, under Commander Luxmoore, R.N., and his own Regiment, and commenced cutting a path in a north-easterly direction; but he encountered so heavy a fire that he directed his men to lie down, when they engaged in a musketry duel with the enemy. The two companies of Wood's Regiment, which had been left behind to hold Egginassie, having pushed on into the surrounding bush, were also engaged with the enemy, who kept up a heavy fire at this point.

When Sir Garnet arrived at Egginassie a little before half-past nine, matters looked very serious, for the enemy had not given way at any point, while they were making persistent attacks with overwhelming numbers

on both flanks of the village itself. But the General was calm and confident, and would not even allow the troops he had with him, to loophole* the houses, "lest the mere fact of this being done should make the troops consider that he thought it possible we might have to fall back upon the village, and act upon the defensive." Urgent requests for reinforcements were received from all sides, and the General, who stood in the village personally superintending the movements, sent company after company to support the hardly-pressed advance column, and keep up the communication with the village. At length the tide turned when the Highlanders had passed the swamp, and though Colonel McLeod's column was but little advanced beyond the

* The Correspondent of the *Daily News* writes on this point:— "One incident of the General's own conduct is too suggestive and too typical of the man to be omitted. One of Sir Garnet's Staff ventured to draw his attention to the houses being unloop-holed, an omission supposed to be due to an oversight where so much had to be attended to. The result was simply to show that the General had deliberately omitted the precaution lest it should seem as if there were danger of our having to fall back. It was the only thing during the whole day which indicated that he was in the least anxious as to the effect upon our Native troops of the prolonged resistance of the Ashantees. When a little later, news came in that the village of Quarman, in our rear had been attacked during the heat of the engagement, and that the Ashantees were threatening the whole road between us and it, he received the information with an easy indifference, the calming effect of which at such a moment upon the men around, who did not hear what the General said, but did, amidst the excitement produced by scared carriers and returned convoys, look anxiously to his face, may be imagined."

two hundred yards east from the village, the fire of the enemy began to slacken. In the meantime, the reinforcements sent to the Brigadier-General were engaged with the Ashantees in the bush on both sides of the road; but so vastly superior in number were the enemy that they were enabled to break in upon the main road in rear of the 42nd, while they engaged the British front and flanks.

Sir Archibald Alison, having driven the enemy from their great camp, advanced upon the village of Amoaful, which was "rushed" by the 42nd, after Rait's guns had searched it with a few rounds, and, soon after twelve, he reported to the General that all was quiet on his right and left. Colonel McLeod's column now pushed across the swamp, but still no advance was made on the right, Colonel Wood being hotly engaged with the enemy, and it was not until forty-five minutes past one that the Ashantees were driven off and all firing ceased.

The Ashantees showed remarkable enterprise on this eventful day, for at half-past two they attacked Colonel Colley while on his return to Insarfu, to bring up the regimental baggage, and escort the wounded to that post, and, at three o'clock, he reported that Quarman was "warmly attacked." On his arrival with reinforcements the enemy were repulsed, when he passed on to Insarfu, and, having collected the baggage and ammunition, which extended nearly five miles in length, started on his return to Quarman, which the

Ashantees had again attacked, and fighting was continued on the road until late in the evening. Colonel Colley, who displayed throughout the day capacity and skill of a high order, having brought the baggage into Insarfu during the night, marched back to Quarman, and arrived at midnight at Amoaful, whither Sir Garnet had proceeded. At ten o'clock all the companies on the road between it and Egginassie were called into Amoaful, and Colonel Warren was left in command at Egginassie with four companies of the Rifle Brigade.

The action that was thus brought to a successful conclusion, was hard fought, and the resistance encountered from the enemy much greater than was anticipated. Until the village of Amoaful was carried, says the Brigadier-General, "the fighting was incessant; indeed it is impossible to conceive a more severe action than went on. The heavy loss suffered by the 42nd is the best proof of this, nearly every fourth man having been hit. The loss of the enemy must have been enormous. The main path was covered with dead, and I do not believe they could have lost less than between two thousand and three thousand in killed and wounded. They stood admirably, came close up to our men, and evidently fought to win; but their final rout was complete, and by four o'clock Lord Gifford's scouts had reported that their whole centre and right was dispersed, and in full flight. As His Excellency knows much better than I do, their left

was engaged until long after this in a flank attack against the forces under his own immediate command at Egginassie, and in threatening our communication between that place and Quarman." The great Chief Amanquatia was among the killed, and the King of Mampon was wounded, while many high courtiers and nobles bit the dust. Admirable skill was shown in the position selected by Amanquatia, and the determination and generalship he displayed in the defence, fully bore out his great reputation as an able tactician and gallant soldier.

The brunt of the fighting was borne by the 42nd Highlanders, of whom the Brigadier-General says, "their steadiness and discipline, the admirable way in which they were kept in hand by their officers, and the enthusiastic gallantry with which every charge was executed, exceed all praise." Where all the officers did so well, especial praise is due to Major Macpherson, who, though wounded three times, positively refused to quit the field until Amoaful was carried; to Majors Scott, who succeeded in command, and Baird, who died of his wounds at Sierra Leone on his passage home, and other officers of the 42nd; also to Major Home, R.E., who exposed himself freely, and one of whose officers, Captain Buckle, was killed; to Lord Gifford whose coolness and gallantry were conspicuous; to Colonel McLeod, Captain Rait, R.A., Captain Grubbe, R.N., and Colonel Wood, both of whom were wounded. Of the total force engaged,

consisting of one hundred and thirty-four officers, one thousand three hundred and seventy-five European soldiers and seamen, and seven hundred and eight natives, the casualties were:—Killed, one officer, two privates of the 42nd Highlanders, and one Kossoo of Wood's Regiment. Wounded, twenty-one officers and one hundred and seventy-three men; of these nine officers and one hundred and four men belonged to the Highlanders, and six officers and twenty-six men to the Naval Brigade.

In accordance with the request of Colonel Colley, at daybreak on the 1st of February, the road between Insarfu and Amoaful was lined by the 42nd and Rifle Brigade, and the convoy of ammunition and baggage was brought to head-quarters without opposition. At one o'clock the town of Becquah was carried by Lord Gifford and his scouts before the arrival of the Naval Brigade, who formed the advance guard of a strong force, and his Lordship received the Victoria Cross for his gallantry on this occasion and throughout the operations north of the Prah, when "he daily carried his life in his hand." During the day, the Army marched into Amoaful from Egginassie, where Wood's Regiment now alone remained, the 2nd West Indians being at Quarman; intrenched posts were held at Ahkankuassie, Insarfu, and on the road to Fommanah, and strong detachments were employed escorting the convoys and patrolling between the posts.

Sir Garnet having received the necessary supplies,

determined to push on and give the enemy no time to rally. Accordingly, at daybreak on the 2nd of February, the whole Force advanced from Amoaful, the advance guard, under Colonel McLeod, consisting of Lord Gifford's scouts, Russell's Regiment, detachments of Royal Engineers and Royal Artillery, and one company of the Rifle Brigade. Two days' rations were carried by the troops in their haversacks, the regimental transports accompanying with a similar supply. The advance guard reached Aggemmamu at forty minutes past twelve, without any serious opposition, and, soon after, the main body arrived, when the General, who decided not to advance further that day, pushed his pickets down the road towards Coomassie, and sent Colonel McLeod to scout Adwabin, which that officer occupied. In the meantime, Colonel Colley, who had proceeded back to Fommanah, found the small garrison hotly engaged with the enemy, who succeeded in penetrating the southern side of the village, the greater portion of which was destroyed for purposes of defence. During the attack, which was finally repulsed at one o'clock, p.m., Captain North, 47th Regiment, in command of the post, was severely wounded.

The British Force was now concentrated at Aggemmamu, with four days' supplies, and as Colonel Colley undertook that in five days' time a fresh convoy of provisions should arrive at that place, Sir Garnet Wolseley determined to advance forthwith upon Coomassie,

some fifteen miles distant. It was a bold decision, as the enemy were known to be in force in the front, there was a river to be crossed, and his little Army had been greatly reduced by casualties and sickness. "Most Generals," says Colonel Wood, "would have hesitated in such a conjuncture, but with a happy audacity, Sir Garnet pressed on, and the result proved the wisdom of his decision." As he determined—should he succeed in fighting his way into Coomassie—to quit the town in four or five days from this date, whether he succeeded in making a Treaty with King Koffee or not, he appealed to the men of the European Brigade to make their four days' rations* last, if necessary, for six days, and, as might be expected, they all responded most willingly in the affirmative. Accordingly, he issued orders to the Force to march at daybreak on the following morning, each man carrying his great coat and a day's biscuit in his haversack.

Leaving his tents and baggage at Aggemmamu, which had been strongly intrenched by Major Home, under the command of Captain Cope of the Rifle Brigade, Sir Garnet marched early on the 3rd of February, and, on the arrival of the head of the column at Adwabin, Colonel McLeod, having Lord Gifford's scouts in front, moved with the advanced guard on the

* Colonel Colley, who joined head-quarters during the forenoon on the line of march, brought one hundred and fifty loads of provisions, thus completing the amount to between five and six days' supplies for the whole Force.

path to the right of the main road to Coomassie. He soon encountered the enemy, when a detachment of the Rifle Brigade and Russell's Regiment drove them from the hill where they had taken up a position. The resistance met was severe, and the Rifle Brigade had six men placed *hors de combat*, Russell's Regiment ten, and the scouts eight.

Shortly before noon, two messengers, one bearing a white flag, and the other a golden plate on his breast, the symbol of his office, arrived with a letter from the King. The column was on the line of march, and the messengers were detained while Sir Garnet perused, and replied to, a letter from King Koffee, in the handwriting of Dawson, expressing his willingness "to meet your Excellency's demands, but only your Excellency's very rapid movements puts me into confusion."

There was also a private letter from Dawson petitioning him to halt, "as no doubt we will all be killed if your Excellency do not stay;" but nothing could change Sir Garnet's fixed determination to proceed to Coomassie. As, however, the Ordah, a deep and wide river, was still a considerable distance off, and it was evident that his troops could not reach Coomassie that night, he wrote the following brief reply to the King:—

"12.10 a.m., February 3rd, 1874. On the march.

"You have deceived me so before, that I cannot halt

until the hostages are in my possession. If you send them to me this evening, I will halt my Army this side of the river Ordah. As time presses, I will consent to accept for to-day your mother and Prince Mensah. Both shall be well treated by me. You can trust my word. Unless you send them at once, my Army shall march upon Coomassie."

Sir Garnet continued his advance, and, at three p.m., reached the banks of the Ordah, where he halted. Russell's Regiment crossed the stream, which was fifty feet wide and waist deep, to act as a covering party to the Engineers, who commenced to throw over a bridge. On a clearing being made on the north bank, the remainder of the advance guard crossed the stream, the main body bivouacking on the south bank, or cowering beneath the meagre shelter afforded by hastily constructed huts of palm-stems and plaintain-leaves, from a deluge of rain, which never ceased throughout the night. During the pitiless storm Major Home and his Engineers continued to work, and by daybreak, this indefatigable officer had completed an excellent bridge. The night before the capture of Coomassie must have reminded Sir Garnet Wolseley of that preceding the occupation of Fort Garry, and his mind was equally at ease as to the result of the operations of the morrow. As the prisoners had not arrived, Sir Garnet crossed the river with the main body of his little Army, the advance guard being under the command of Colonel McLeod.

Hardly had the advance commenced their march than the enemy opened fire, and Colonel McLeod pushed some of the Rifle Brigade and a 7-pounder to the front, Lieutenant Bell, R.E.,* being engaged in clearing the bush on the left with his workmen. The attack gradually developed itself into a general action, and Sir Archibald Alison, who was engaged heavily on the right with the remainder of the Rifle Brigade and Rait's Houssa Artillery, reported that his "whole right flank and rear were enveloped." It was evident that the enemy were in great force, and were attempting their favourite tactics of surrounding their foe. Colonel McLeod, notwithstanding all obstacles, under cover of Lieutenant Saunders' gun, steadily continued his advance along the main road leading to Ordahsu, and, at nine, the village was carried by the Rifles. But it was not without serious loss, seven of the eleven Houssas of Saunders' detachment being wounded, also Lieutenant Wauchope (severely), and Lieutenant Eyre,† a noble young soldier, (mortally),

* This gallant officer was awarded the Victoria Cross "for his distinguished bravery and zealous, resolute, and self-devoted conduct at the battle of Ordahsu. By his example he made these men, his unarmed working party of Fantee labourers, do what no European party was ever required to do in warfare—namely, to work under fire in the face of the enemy without a covering party."

† The officers of the 90th, Sir Garnet Wolseley's own old Regiment, have placed a tablet in All Saints' Church, Aldershot, bearing the following inscription: "In memory of Arthur Hordolph Eyre, Lieutenant 90th Light Infantry, who having served throughout the

while urging on the Opobo company of Wood's Regiment, of which he had been adjutant throughout the campaign. The Ashantees quickly recovering themselves, now attacked the village of Ordahsu on both sides, and also made flank attacks down the road, where Wood's and Russell's Regiments, being unsteady, had been placed to guard communications. Sir Archibald, having pushed on the remainder of the Rifles to support Colonel McLeod, soon after joined him at Ordahsu, where the Rifles, Rait's guns, and the detachment 23rd, were concentrated. According to the Brigadier-General's request, Sir Garnet directed him to move on, and proposed to take his place at Ordahsu, with the 42nd; but, before the Highlanders had time to occupy the village and relieve the advance guard, the enemy attacked in force in front, on both flanks, and in the right rear. The General entered the village with the rear of the Highlanders, and immediately made his dispositions to bring all the baggage into the village, when he proposed, after leaving a strong guard for its protection, to push on for Coomassie, with all his available Force, disregarding all flank and rear attacks.

At this time Ordahsu was encircled with a sheet of

Ashantee Expedition, in which he evinced the noble courage hereditary in his family, was killed while leading the advance in the last day's fighting before Coomassie, on the 4th of February, 1874, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. Erected by his messmates and brother officers of Wood's Regiment."

fire, and the enemy advanced to the attack with astonishing pertinacity and disregard of danger. They pushed boldly into the heart of the village, and the revolvers of the Staff officers were called into requisition. Had the weapons and ammunition of the Ashantees been of a better description, many officers, who are the ornaments of the British Army, would have fallen beneath the heavy fire, including the Commander of the Expeditiou, who narrowly escaped with his life. Sir Garnet Wolseley was sitting on a small native stool and all the head-quarter staff were seated round him on the ground; the noise of the firing was at its height, and Major Russell was in the act of leaning forward to say something in his ear, when a slug struck him, and passing obliquely through the puggree of his felt helmet, lodged between it and the hat band. The General was knocked off his chair, and both he and it rolled in the dust to the consternation of the Staff. But quick as thought he was on his feet again, and laughingly suggested that they should move into a somewhat less exposed place. On examination, this slug—which has been kept as an interesting memorial of a warm day's work—was found to be a square piece of tin, about the size of a dice, cut off from a bar. Had this projectile struck him on a vital part, or even on any portion of his helmet unprotected by the thick folds of an Indian puggree, it is probable that England might have had cause to mourn the death of a brilliant and suuccssful soldier, who, like Wolfe and Aber-

crombie, fell at the moment when victory was about to reward his protracted efforts. Fortunately he escaped with no more serious injury than a severe headache for the remainder of the day.

Having completed his dispositions, about noon, Sir Garnet issued the order for the advance. The 42nd, as being fresher than the Rifle Brigade, who had been engaged in the van since daybreak, were to lead the advance, under cover of Rait's guns, and Colonel McLeod, who now took command of his own Regiment, was directed to disregard all flank attacks and push on straight for Coomassie; while the Rifle Brigade were to follow in support as soon as the enemy were driven off from the village. Sir Archibald Alison describes in telling language the advance of the Highlanders, as Colonel McLeod rapidly passed the skirmishing companies through each other at intervals of fifty paces:—"On first debouching from the village, a tremendous fire was opened on the head of the column from a well-planned and strong ambuscade, six men being knocked over in an instant. But the flank companies worked steadily through the bush; the leading company in the path sprang forward with a cheer; the pipes struck up, and the ambuscade was at once carried. Then followed one of the finest spectacles ever seen in war. Without stop or stay the 42nd rushed on cheering, their pipes playing, their officers to the front; ambuscade after ambuscade was successfully carried, village after village won in succession, till the whole Ashantees

broke, and fled in the wildest disorder down the pathway on their front to Coomassie. The ground was covered with traces of their flight, umbrellas, and warchairs of their chiefs, drums, muskets, killed and wounded, covered the whole way, and the bush on each side was trampled as if a torrent had flowed through it. No pause took place until a village about four miles from Coomassie was reached, when the absolute exhaustion of the men rendered a short halt necessary. So swift and unbroken was the advance of the 42nd, that neither Rait's guns nor the Rifle Brigade in support, were ever brought into action."

Up to this time, the enemy, encouraged by the presence of King Koffee, who was carried in his litter in rear, where no bullets could reach his royal person, had been making repeated attacks upon Ordahsu; but, shortly before two, on the General communicating to his soldiers a despatch from Sir Archibald, reporting his capture of Karsi, a village four miles from Coomassie, the loud cheers raised by Europeans and Natives alike, struck a terror into the hearts of the enemy, and they suddenly ceased firing.

The whole of the baggage having been now brought into the village, after some severe skirmishing with the enemy, who tried to cut the convoy off, our troops were drawn in and all communications severed with the rear,* a step rendered absolutely necessary owing

* Between this point and the Prah Sir Garnet Wolseley had established eleven posts, each of which was garrisoned with between sixty

to the available force being diminished by losses to one thousand Europeans and four hundred Natives, who, being supplied with five days' rations, were in a position to exist without connection with their base of supplies.

Sir Garnet attended the funeral of the gallant young Eyre—whose body was placed in a hastily dug grave, amid the regrets of his many friends—and, about half-past three, commenced his march on Coomassie with the whole of his Force.

Crossing two streams and a pestilential swamp, which surrounds the city, Sir Garnet, mounted on a mule, passed through Captain Somerset's company of the Rifles, which formed his escort, and, at a quarter past six o'clock arrived in the market-place, where he found the 42nd, and leading companies of the Rifle Brigade, which had entered the city three quarters of an hour before, drawn up as on parade. Taking off his hat, he called for "three cheers for the Queen," which were given with such true British heartiness that the Natives fled in all directions; and thus was

and a hundred men; Fommanah, which was the largest post north o the Prah, having a garrison of two hundred men. Thus at every advance his small Force was weakened by establishing these posts, while his sick and wounded had increased daily, the carriers taking them back in one constant stream. Each post was fortified, the houses being loop-holed, the ground cleared, and a parapet thrown up, and the garrisons daily patrolled half-way on either side until the patrols met.

brought to a close one of the most singular and exciting episodes in the history of war.

Not less strange was the scene presented in the streets of Coomassie, where the old motto, "Væ victis," received the most singular of commentaries. With the coolest effontery, the very men with whom our soldiers had been engaged during the past four days in a fierce life-and-death struggle, on meeting the advanced guard, calmly sauntered up to them with arms in their hands, and offered them water, with the remark, "Thank you, thank you," as if the whole thing had been a theatrical performance, in which all had equally well played their parts. The great main street of Coomassie, (which means "the town under the tree,"*) was full of King Koffee's warriors, who deliberately walked through the market-place, past the front of the troops, carrying their arms and ammunition into the bush. The main street commands both the town and the palace, and the Brigadier-General, on arrival, had thrown out pickets and placed the Artillery so that it could sweep the streets ascending to the market-place. A party was at once sent down to the palace, but the King, the queen-mother, Prince Mensah, and all other personages of distinction, had disappeared.

* So called because its founder sat under a broad tree, surrounded by his warriors, while he laid out the plan for the future town. This great fetish tree, singularly enough, fell down on the day Sir Garnet Wolseley sent his ultimatum of the 2nd of January to the King—an event which created a prodigious sensation among the townspeople.

In the action of Ordahsu there were engaged one hundred and eighteen officers, one thousand and forty-four European soldiers and seamen, and four hundred and forty-nine natives; and of this number Lieutenant Eyre and one man were killed, and six officers and sixty men wounded. The troops displayed during the twelve hours' arduous marching and fighting, courage and endurance of a high order; though fainting with thirst, water being scarce on the route, and having no time to eat food, few if any of the Force fell out, but all pressed on in emulous eagerness for the gaol of their exertions. The enemy did not suffer so heavily as at Amoaful, which was owing to their resistance not being of so obstinate a character; and, after the capture of Ordahsu, they chiefly directed their energies to making fruitless flank attacks on the troops defending the village.

It was almost dark before steps could be taken to quarter the troops, and Sir Garnet immediately issued stringent orders for the protection of the inhabitants and the safety of the town. The scene presented in the streets of the Ashantee capital was picturesque in the highest degree. The twilight quickly faded into night, which was lit up by camp-fires and torches, which threw a weird light on the crowds of Natives who appeared multiplied tenfold, while the sky was reddened by conflagration, the acts of incendiaries, principally Fantee prisoners, who took advantage of the confusion to pillage the houses. Captain Baker, Inspector-

General of Police, and other officers, were engaged all night in extinguishing the fires, and restraining the plunderers, one of whom, caught red-handed, was summarily hanged, and several were flogged, which had the required deterrent effect. After seeing that strong outlying pickets were placed at all the main thoroughfares, Sir Garnet, with Colonel Greaves and one or two of his Staff, took up his quarters for the night in a raised open recess, destitute alike of roof and front, which opened into the market-place.

A signal military success had been achieved; but, as political Chief of the Expedition, the laurels of the bloodless campaign of diplomacy remained still unplucked.

Sir Garnet's chief anxiety now was to conclude a treaty of peace with the King: so before retiring to rest that night, he addressed to him a letter, offering him his original terms, and expressing his readiness to accept hostages of rank in place of the queen-mother and heir. After an almost sleepless night, Sir Garnet rose early, and issued to the troops a "Special General Order" of thanks,* and wrote his despatch to the Secretary of War, on the operations since the action of

* "Coomassie, February 5th, 1874.

"Soldiers, Seamen, and Marines of this Expeditionary Force,

"After five days' very hard fighting, under trying conditions, your courage and devotion have been rewarded with complete success. I thank you in Her Majesty's name for your gallantry and good conduct throughout these operations.

February 2nd, which, like his modest despatch on the action at Amoaful, is a model of conciseness.

Accompanied by his Staff, the General proceeded to the King's palace, a huge building of irregular shape in which one thousand men might have been quartered. In one court was found a quantity of enormous umbrellas of various materials, including the state umbrella sent home to Her Majesty, and numerous litters, covered with silks and velvets or the skins of animals, in which the King was wont to be carried. In rooms upstairs were numberless boxes filled with articles of value and silks. As Sir Garnet Wolseley walked through these courts and apartments, containing a museum of articles from all countries, he must have

"In the first phase of this War the Ashantee Army was driven back from the Fantee country into its own territory. Since then you have penetrated far through a dense forest, defended at many points with the greatest obstinacy. You have repeatedly defeated a very numerous and most courageous enemy, fighting on his own ground, in well-selected positions. British pluck and the discipline common to Her Majesty's land and sea Forces have enabled you thus to overcome all difficulties and to seize upon the enemy's capital, which now lies at our mercy.

"All the people, both European and Native, unjustly held captive by the King of Ashantee, are now at liberty, and you have proved to this cruel and barbarous people that England is able to punish her enemies, no matter what their strength in numbers or position.

"Maintain on your return march to the coast the same admirable conduct you have hitherto evinced, and England may be as justly proud of having such soldiers, sailors, and marines as I am of having had the honour of commanding you throughout this campaign."

been reminded of the scene at the Summer Palace, near Pekin, though the abode of the barbarous African monarch was a poor imitation of that edifice with its priceless contents. There were other articles in this palace that aroused feelings only of disgust, and sent a shudder of horror through the frames of the British officers, accustomed as they had been lately to sights of blood. Before them was the great death-drum, surrounded with human skulls and thigh bones, and, close by, were several stools "covered with clotted blood, standing out from them in huge thick lumps, the blood of hundreds of victims." As the flies rose in dense crowds from their foul repast, Sir Garnet beat a hasty retreat from the accursed spot, and, after a brief survey of the King's bedchamber, with its heavy door, having many stamped placques of gold, and the gorgeous four-post bedstead, quitted the palace, over which he directed that a strong European guard should be placed.

There was one "lion" of Coomassie which, those who paid it a visit, are not likely soon to forget. Not far from the market-place, and hidden from the road by a fringe of rushes, was an open space, over an acre in extent, forming a receptacle for decaying corpses. The whole town was impregnated with the odour arising from the contents of this charnel house, in which were lying, in all the hideous stages of decomposition, thousands of human bodies and skeletons. It was said that daily fresh victims were added to this

Golgotha, and it must be a source of gratification to the victorious General, to reflect that by the blows he inflicted in this short and sharp campaign, humanity has been the gainer in the overthrow of a kingdom whose corner stone was the denial of the first principles that regulate society even among the most unenlightened communities.

During that day Sir Garnet received messengers professing to be sent by the King, with promises that he would come in immediately, and the General despatched emissaries urging him to meet him, when his palace would be placed at his disposal; but still there were no signs of his appearance, and, as it was evident that he was only carrying on his policy of dissimulation, the messengers, who were found collecting arms and ammunition, were arrested.

During the afternoon a terrible storm of wind and rain swept over the city, and, in the night, a second tornado raged with fearful violence, converting the market-place into a pond. Major Russell reported that the bridge on the Ordah river, was about eighteen inches under water, and, as it appeared that the rainy season was about to set in, the General determined to evacuate Coomassie and retrace his steps, before the roads were rendered impassable.

Had he considered only his own wishes and the advancement of that flashy reputation which is gained by pandering to popular aspirations, he would have marched out and burnt the royal mausoleum at Ban-

tama, and fought an action with his handful of men, which might, perhaps, have so greatly increased his wounded, as to have placed it beyond his power to remove them back to Aggemmamu, there being no carriers or hammocks sufficient for the purpose. Had he been a General thirsting for self-aggrandisement, he might have thus effected military operations of a strikingly dramatic and sensational character, which would, doubtless have earned for him among writers who regard a "heavy butcher's bill" as the criterion of success, unbounded applause; but other and higher considerations guided his conduct. He thought only of his country's interests entrusted to his care, and of the welfare of those brave men who had responded so nobly to the exacting calls he had made upon them, and whom now every feeling of common gratitude would induce him to guard against unnecesssry exposure to the deadly climate. He knew that the British soldier could battle against the insidious attacks of fevers while under the excitement of battle or anticipated conflict, but that when these influences had worn off, he would become in that African forest an easy prey to disease. Acting under a sense of responsibility, from which his critics were relieved, and remembering the earnest injunctions of the Secretaries for War and the Colonies, to avoid all unnecessary exposure of the white troops, about five o'clock in the afternoon of the 7th of February, he made up his mind as to the course he should adopt. A report was accordingly circulated

that, as the King had broken his promise, and not come in to treat for peace, the Army would advance in pursuit of him, and it was given out that all Ashantees found in the town after six in the morning of the 6th of February, would be shot, an announcement which effectually cleared the town. Prize agents at once set to work to collect all they could before the morning, when the return march was to commence, but unfortunately, as the number of carriers placed at their disposal was but thirty, only a small proportion of the valuables was removed.* Meanwhile, through the drenching downpour, Major Home and Lieutenant Bell, with their Sappers, were hard at work making preparations for destroying the palace and setting the town on fire, acts of retribution which the General determined to adopt in order that he might leave behind, as

* "By the light of two candles," says an officer, "the search began. In one room were found those gold masks, whose object it is so difficult to divine, made of pure gold hammered into shape. One of these, weighing more than forty-one ounces, represents a ram's head, and the others the faces of savage men, about half the size of life. Box after box was opened, and its contents hastily examined, the more valuable ones being kept, and the others left. Necklaces and bracelets of gold, Aggery beads, and coral ornaments of various descriptions, were heaped together in boxes and calabashes. Silver plate, swords, gorgeous ammunition-belts, caps mounted in solid gold, knives set in gold and silver, bags of gold-dust and nuggets, carved stools mounted in silver, calabashes worked in silver and gold, silks embroidered and woven, were all passed in review. The sword presented by Her Majesty to to the King was found and carried off, and thousands of things were left behind that would be worth fabulous sums in cabinets at home."

he says, "such a mark of our power to punish as should deter from future aggression a nation whom treaties do not bind."

Soon after six o'clock on the following morning, the troops, headed by the Naval Brigade, with the 42nd as the rear-guard, marched off on their return, and the great rise in the Soubang swamp, at the entrance of the town, showed what might be expected at the rivers. The preparation of the eight mines at the palace, took longer than had been expected, and the rear of the main body had moved off from Coomassie a full hour before they were ready; but, at length, the mines were exploded, and the palace was placed in ruins. At the same time the town was fired, and soon the thick thatched roofs of the houses were burning furiously. As the dense masses of smoke formed a funereal canopy over his capital, and the flames leapt high into mid-air, King Koffee learned the full extent of the defeat and humiliation that had befallen his dynasty, and that the revenge of the British General for the manifold wrongs inflicted for so many years on the subject races of his Sovereign, had at length been adequately consummated.

So quickly had the waters risen, that in one place over which the Force had marched with the water knee-deep, there was a reach of two hundred yards of water, and the troops had to cross the deepest part by means of a felled tree. The Brigadier-General, who was riding a mule, was nearly drowned, the animal

rolling over him. The river Ordah was two feet above the bridge, and was still rising. The carriers crossed with their bundles on their heads, and the greater portion of the European troops proceeded by the bridge, which, however, gave way in the evening, when the 42nd had to strip and ford, or swim, across, their clothes being carried by Natives. By dint of great exertions the whole Force, during the night, reached Aggemmamu, where the General halted on the following day with the 42nd, Rifle Brigade, and Rait's Artillery. The remainder of the column continued the march for Cape Coast, which they reached, on the 20th, without any noteworthy incident, when the 23rd Regiment embarked for England, and the Naval Brigade proceeded on board their respective ships.

While at Aggemmamu, Sir Garnet Wolseley wrote despatches to the Secretaries for War and the Colonies, which he forwarded by special steamer to England, together with the previously written despatch announcing the fall of Coomassie, by the hand of his aide-de-camp, Lieutenant the Honourable H. J. L. Wood; and he also sent the state umbrella of the King of Ashantee, as a present from the troops to Her Majesty, and a carved stool, also from the King's palace, to the Prince of Wales.

On the 8th of February, Sir Garnet proceeded to Amoaful, and, on the following day, to Detchiasu, which he quitted for Fommanah on the 10th.

Great difficulty was experienced in collecting carriage

for the sick and wounded, of whom there were seventy at Insarfu and forty-five at Ahkankuassi, but Colonel Colley surmounted every obstacle. The 42nd and Rifle Brigade continued their march for the Coast, the latter embarking on the 21st of February, and the Highlanders a few days later. Sir Garnet halted at Fommanah with the Native troops, with the double object of seeing the last convoy of sick and wounded across the Adansi Hills, and of negotiating with King Koffee, who had sent a messenger to him on the 9th, while he was at Detchiasu, expressing his desire for peace, and his willingness to accede to all the terms of the British Commander, coupled with a request that he would order Captain Glover* to halt his Forces.

* That able and gallant officer had been detained at Odumassie only two marches from Coomassie, for want of spare ammunition and reinforcements, his total efficient Force on the 4th of February numbering only two hundred and sixty-two Houssas and an equal number of Yorubas, while he was encumbered with forty-eight sick and twelve wounded. On the 6th of February, he was joined by Lieutenant Moore, R.N., with two thousand Aquapims and Croboes, three guns, rockets, and two hundred and fifty spare rounds of ammunition per man; and on the 8th, having heard, meanwhile, rumours of the fall of Coomassie, he started to join Wolseley at the capital. On the same day the King of Juabin sent in his submission to Captain Glover, who ordered him to present himself to the British General at Coomassie. His halt at Odumassie had been of essential service to the main Army, for, while they were fighting on the Ordah, he had held in check on the river Anoom the contingent of the King of Juabin. On the 10th he reached Essiamimpon, where he halted agreeably to his instructions that he was "not to cross the Dah, nor to approach nearer Coomassie than ten miles without orders from the General;" and Captain Sar-

Sir Garnet agreed to waive the question of hostages, "as the Ashantee kingdom had been already so severely punished," but required before arranging the terms of a treaty of peace, that five thousand ounces of gold-dust should be sent "as an earnest of his sincerity and as a first instalment of the indemnity." Cobbina Obbin, King of Adansi, sent messengers expressing his desire to migrate, with his whole tribe, into British territory south of the Prah, and, at Sir Garnet's invitation, arrived, on the 11th of February, at Fommanah, where he was quartered in his own palace, the only building left standing in the town.

On the morning of the 13th, messengers arrived from King Koffee, bringing one thousand and forty ounces of gold, consisting of gold-dust, large *plaques* with bosses in the centre, nuggets, nails, bracelets, knobs, masks, bells, and ornaments of every description, some entire and others broken up. They declared that the King could not at the moment produce more, and as the General considered that the main point was to obtain the Treaty of Peace, and that the money was

torius, who volunteered to take a letter to Sir Garnet Wolseley, proceeded, with twenty picked Houssas, from Akina to Coomassie, a distance of eighteen miles. Passing through Coomassie, which he found deserted and smouldering, he bivouacked at Amoaful, and rode into the British Camp at Fommanah on the 12th of February. Glover, finding that Captain Sartorius neither came back to him nor wrote, crossed the Ordah on the 11th, and entered Coomassie on the following day, when he learned that the King had accepted Sir Garnet's terms. Proceeding on his return march, he arrived at Quarman on the 14th.

important chiefly as a proof of complete submission, he accepted the gold, which was weighed out and inspected by official testers. The process took place under the shade of the mess-hut, which adjoined that occupied by the General, and was watched by European officers and Natives, who alike recognised in the scene an unqualified admission of defeat on the part of the haughty African potentate who had never before paid tribute to "any man of woman born." This concluded, Sir Garnet placed in the hands of the Envoys, the draft of the instrument known as the "Treaty of Fommanah," the provisions of which were carefully explained to them.

By this Treaty King Koffee agreed to the following summarised conditions:—

"To pay the sum of fifty thousand ounces of approved gold as indemnity.

"To renounce all right or title to any tribute or homage from the Kings of Denkera, Assin, Akim, Adansi, and all pretensions of supremacy over Elmina.

"To guarantee freedom of trade between Ashantee and Her Majesty's forts on the Coast, and to keep the road from Coomassie to the River Prah, open and free from bush to a width of fifteen feet.

"To use his best endeavours to check the practice of human sacrifice, with a view to hereafter putting an end to it altogether."

The Envoys objected to two clauses only. First, they professed not to have understood that so large a

sum as fifty thousand ounces was demanded, though they withdrew this objection when it was pointed out to them that the King had expressly agreed to pay that amount.* Secondly, they objected to the Adansi tribe being included among those over whom the King of Ashantee renounced "all right or title to any tribute or homage;" but Sir Garnet explained to them that he had taken no steps whatever in the matter, that the action on the part of the Adansi people was purely voluntary, and that it was one with which it was impossible for him to interfere.

The Envoys, who promised that within a fortnight the King should send the Treaty to Cape Coast with his signature appended,† returned the same afternoon to

* Sir Garnet wrote to Lord Kimberley that it was very doubtful whether the balance of this money would ever be obtained from the King; "but," he adds, "as the payment of a few thousand pounds cannot be a matter of relatively so great importance as the maintenance of peace, I have caused the wording of this clause to be carefully so framed as to make it clear that the money is only to be paid in such instalments and at such times as Her Majesty may direct. The whole question of the money will thus be open for solution in any way Her Majesty's Government may think fit." He had before, when forwarding to Lord Kimberley a copy of his letter to the King, from Prahsu, said, referring to the amount of his demand of fifty thousand ounces: "Owing to the limited information at my command as to the amount of gold at his disposal, it is possible that during negotiations I may feel it necessary to reduce it."

† On the 13th of March, Koffee Intin, a son of the King of Ashantee, together with a number of chiefs and high court officials, arrived at Cape Coast with the Treaty ratified by the King.

Coomassie with the draft Treaty, and the General, immediately after, wrote to Captain Glover,* informing him of what had occurred, and desiring him at once to retire with all his troops across the Prah and proceed to Accra.

Sir Garnet quitted Fommanah on the 14th of February, reached Prahsu on the following day, and arrived at Cape Coast on the 19th.

The loot brought from Coomassie was sold by auction at Cape Coast, and realised nearly £6,000, exclusive of the golden ornaments received at Fommanah as part of the indemnity, which were brought over to London, where they were exhibited and re-sold by the purchasers, Messrs. Garrard. The loot sold at Cape Coast consisted chiefly of the gold ornaments of the King's wives, and included two of His Majesty's solid gold pipes, a curious silver coffee-pot of George the First's time, which Sir Garnet purchased, and an ivory-hilted sword, bearing on one side of the blade the following inscription:—"From Her Majesty Queen Victoria to the King of Ashantee." This weapon, which was left by King Koffee in his bed-chamber, when he made his hurried exit from Coomassie, was purchased by the

* Captain Glover received this letter at Quarman, on the 14th of February, and marched to the sea-coast with his Force of four thousand four hundred and fifty men, of whom seven hundred and fifteen were disciplined troops, reaching Essiaman on the 16th, and Prahsu on the following day. Here the column was broken up, and Captain Glover proceeded to Accra, and thence to England.

officers of the Staff, and presented by them to their gallant Commander. On the reverse of the blade is a second legend, as follows:—"Major-General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., from the officers of his Staff. Coomassie, 4th February, 1874." Doubtless the victor of Amoaful and Ordahsu possesses no more valued *souvenir* of his distinguished military career than this sword of honour, to which a peculiar interest must attach from the names of the original donor and recipient, and the circumstances under which it changed hands.

Previously to his arrival at Cape Coast, Sir Garnet had issued a Proclamation terminating the state of martial law that had prevailed in Elmina and the surrounding districts, since the 12th of June, 1873; and he now occupied the interval before his departure for England, in a great variety of matters that pressed for solution. Among important papers he drew up a valuable Minute* in regard to the future defence of

* In this paper he proposed that strong military posts should be maintained at Prahsu and Mansu, in order to protect Ashantee traders from the insults and exactions of the Fantees, the garrisons to consist of one hundred military police at the former, and fifty at the latter post. For this duty he proposed to raise a Houssa Force. He was of opinion that the 1st West India Regiment, the only Regular corps that was to remain on the Gold Coast, might be withdrawn from Cape Coast itself within one year at the latest, and a garrison of three hundred armed police, twelve to be trained as gunners, should be substituted in their place, under command of Captain Baker, the efficient Inspector-General, assisted by three other European officers. Elmina

the Gold Coast, upon which Her Majesty's Government have since acted.

The troops rapidly left the country during the latter part of February. The 23rd Fusiliers, with a detachment of Royal Artillery, sailed in the 'Tamar' on the 22nd; the Rifle Brigade and a detachment of Royal Engineers in the 'Himalaya,' on the following day; the 'Thames,' with a number of officers, and the 'Victor Emmanuel,' with the Hospital Staff and sick, sailed on the 26th; and the 'Sarmatian,' with the 42nd Highlanders and Brigade Staff, on the 27th. The 2nd West India Regiment remained at Accroful until instructions arrived from home regarding their destination in the West Indies; Colonel Wood's Regiment proceeded to Elmina, where they were disbanded, and Major Russell's Regiment and Rait's Artillery to Cape Coast, where they were also dismissed to their homes.

Sir Garnet Wolseley proceedod to Accra in Her Majesty's ship 'Active,' as the guest of Commodore Hewett. He had been directed to wait at Cape Coast until he was relieved by Mr. Berkeley, the Governor-in-

should be held by a garrison of one hundred armed police, and Secondee, Dixcove, and Akim, by fifty men at each post, the number later to be reduced one-half, if required; Addah also to be held by one hundred military police, under an European officer, and Quittah to have a like force. These posts to be provisioned for three months, and to have five hundred rounds of ammunition per man. The total strength of the garrisons, including twenty-five men at Annamaboe, to amount to nine hundred and seventy-five armed police, who might ultimately be reduced to eight hundred.

Chief at Sierra Leone, but towards the end of February fresh orders came from England, directing him to make over temporary charge of civil and military affairs to an officer of the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He, accordingly, made the offer of the post, in succession, to Sir Archibald Alison, Colonel Greaves, and Colonel Colley, and, on their declining to remain longer on the Coast, summoned Colonel Maxwell,* C.B., commanding the 1st West India Regiment at Prahsu, who accepted the post.

On the 4th of March, Sir Garnet Wolseley, with his Staff, embarked in the 'Manitobah,' a name of happy augury, and, after an uneventful passage, arrived at Portsmouth on the 20th of March. Though the campaign, now so successfully closed, had been short, some valuable lives had been sacrificed. Of the original party of thirty officers, who had accompanied Sir Garnet to Cape Coast, up to the date of the entry into Coomassie, four—Captains Buckle, R.E., and Nicol,

* He had done wisely had he also declined the perilous honour, for his already feeble health soon broke down under the harassing nature of the duties; too late he attempted to escape the effects of the deadly climate, but died before reaching Madeira, sincerely mourned by all the officers and men of the 1st West India Regiment, and of the 34th, with whom he had served with great distinction throughout the Siege of Sebastopol and the Indian Mutiny. He was succeeded by Captain Lees, and, on the inauguration of the new arrangements by which the colony was made independent of the Governor-in-Chief of Sierra Leone, an able officer, who accompanied Sir Garnet in the 'Ambriz,' G. C. Strahan, R.A., Captain, was nominated Governor, on the recommendation of the General.

Hants Militia, and Lieutenants Eyre, 90th Regiment, and Wilmot, R.A.—had been killed: three—Captain Huyshe, Rifle Brigade, and Lieutenants Honourable A. Charteris, Coldstream Guards, and Townshend, 16th Regiment,—had died from the effects of climate; and seven had been wounded, while nearly all, including the General himself, had been hit by slugs and had suffered more or less severely from fever. Death had also been busy among the remaining officers of the Expeditionary Force, and continued his ravages after their return to England. Besides Colonel Maxwell, there died Majors Baird and Farquharson, 42nd Regiment, and Saunders, R.A.; Captains Thompson, Queen's Bays, Butler, 1st West India Regiment, and Hopkins, 2nd West India Regiment; Lieutenants Dalgleish, Warner, and Cox, 2nd West India Regiment, Roper, Clough, Burke, Elderton, Huntingford and Williams, 1st West India Regiment; Gray, Royal Marines; Johnstone, 23rd Regiment. Captain Blake, R.N., Staff-Commander Prickett, Lieutenants Wells and Hirtzel, and Sub-Lieutenants Mundy, Bradshaw, and Ficklin, Naval Brigade. Commissaries Marsh and Marsden; Assistant-Commissaries Reid, Harrymount, and Burke. Surgeons-Major Burrows and Kelly; Surgeons Clarke, Bale, and M'Carthy; Lieutenant Dillon, Army Hospital Corps. The total of deaths among officers, in this brief War, was thus forty-three, while, in less than two months, no less than seventy-one per cent. of the European Force suffered from sickness.

Several histories of the Ashantee War have been given to the world, some being little more than the republication of the hastily-penned letters of Special Correspondents, who have not even taken the pains to rectify the surmises formed on incorrect or insufficient data. Of one of these we may say that the ignorance of the writer is only equalled by the presumption with which he lays down what "ought" to have been done. It is amusing to read the lucubrations of men, who

> "Never set a squadron in the field,
> Nor the division of a battle know,
> More than a spinster,"

but who criticise the movements of one of the most accomplished and experienced soldiers of the age, and, filled with the sense of their own heaven-born aptitude for the science of War—a knowledge which the General acquired by laborious study and hard service in many climes—lay down the law on the Art Military with all the assurance of ignorant presumption. Such men think they have shown great critical acumen by inveighing, after the event, when it is proverbially so easy to be wise, against the General for showing a want of prescience in not providing against the possibility of such an unforeseen incident as the desertion of the carriers, which unexpectedly occurred at a critical moment; or to take another instance, for the hurried retreat from Coomassie, when the heavy rains warned the Commander that the return might be a

matter of difficulty were it delayed for the purpose of accomplishing such an utterly useless measure, either from a political or military point of view, as the destruction of Bantama. Those sage critics who, before the campaign, went about town with long faces and shaking heads, giving vent to the gloomiest prognostications—just as occurred when Lord Napier was organizing his Abyssinian Expedition—were the same gentlemen who, after the first burst of public exultation at the brilliant success achieved by Wolseley, began, in the press, in society, and at the clubs, to pooh-pooh the difficulties that had been so ably overcome, and to decry any great merit in the General who had returned with his Army almost intact, having carried out to the letter the programme he had originally announced.

A passage in Wolseley's "Narrative of the War in China in 1860" (Chapter VII.), bears with singular force on this habit of non-military critics, of seeking to lessen the public estimation of the services of a General if his successes have been achieved without incurring "a heavy butcher's bill." "Non-combatants," he says, "are at all times anxious to push on and make light of military precautions. After any successful operation, it is easy to speak of the facility with which it is accomplished, and, adducing the smallness of your losses in proof thereof, to remark, 'oh, you might have done it with half the number,' forgetting or ignoring the fact that the rapid success was very much to be attributed to the display of force,

which ever carries with it great moral power in war, and that the precautions taken were the means of saving your soldier's lives."

As regards the permanent results that may be expected to flow from his last important military achievement, it is almost impossible to exaggerate their importance. As time goes on it will be found that the revolution, social and political, that has been wrought by the destruction of the ascendancy of the Ashantee monarchy, will be far-reaching in its consequences; and in ages to come the Natives of West Africa will require no monument to remind them of the debt of gratitude they owe to their liberator from the deadliest and most debasing tyranny the world has yet seen. The memory of Sir Garnet Wolseley should remain green in the hearts of those he delivered from thraldom; and as the African of the future contrasts the state of anarchy and bloodshed into which his country was plunged in 1873-4, with the condition of peace and prosperity he enjoys under a settled Government, the words over the tomb of Wren, in his masterpiece of St. Paul's, may be not less appropriately applied to Sir Garnet Wolseley:—"*Si monumentum quæris circumspice.*"

The Ashantee Campaign has been frequently likened to the Abyssinian War, and the comparison obviously presents itself to the mind, though the conditions under which such striking successes have been achieved by two British Commanders, are as dissimilar as can well

be. Though Lord Napier had to march four hundred miles before he could strike at his savage enemy, and Sir Garnet Wolseley considerably less than two hundred miles, and though the engineering difficulties that beset every mile of the advance were, in both cases, well-nigh insuperable, yet the climatic conditions were so much in favour of the Indian General, that the palm, as regards the magnitude of the difficulties overcome, must unhesitatingly be awarded to his younger brother-in-arms.

Lord Napier's soldiers, numbering twelve thousand men, after passing the narrow belt of low land near Massowah, marched over a succession of stupendous passes and gorges, with grand scenery to enliven the march, and the most bracing climate in the world to strengthen the frame, so that every breath of mountain air drunk in by the soldiers as they mounted higher and still higher up the chain of hills, until they attained the plateau in which was placed the stronghold of Theodore, was exhilarating, and every step of the long and toilsome march, only invigorated their constitutions. Far different was it with the small band—less than one-quarter the strength of Lord Napier's Army, of whom only two thousand, owing to the want of transport, crossed the Prah into the enemy's territory—which, under the leadership of Sir Garnet Wolseley, assayed the task of restoring peace to the British Protectorate, and curbing the pretensions of the Ashantee monarch. The duty had to be performed in three

months, or not at all; the transport with which the Expedition would have to be conducted, was limited to human agency, for the first time, perhaps, in the history of war; and, lastly, all this had to be effected in the most deadly climate in the world. European life on the Gold Coast, under the most favourable conditions as to diet, housing, and freedom from exposure, is held on so precarious a lease that Insurance Offices refuse risks, or charge exorbitant rates; but in this case, a military Expedition had to march through a dense forest, the miasma arising from whose fever-laden glades and paths, was even more fatal to health than the tropical heat that struck the men to the earth in scores when they made forced marches in the more open country south of the Prah, and the troops groped their way through the dense primeval forest and brush-wood, in which, at times, they had to march in Indian file, while the superiority of breech-loading arms was reduced to a minimum. As we have seen, the loss in officers was exceptionally heavy, for they exposed themselves freely, and suffered accordingly; indeed, that more officers did not succumb to the climate, was due to the precautions taken by the medical staff, and to the strategic skill of the General, by which, though the early part of the War was conducted by small columns acting from outposts, there were always supposts ready to prevent the enemy from cutting off detached parties.

The fighting at Ordahsu, and, particularly, at Amoaful, was very severe, and it is the opinion of those best

qualified to judge, that had the Ashantees been armed with tolerable muskets and serviceable ammunition, the British Force must have been forced to retreat, when their numerical inferiority might have precipitated a terrible disaster. Critics describe the Ashantees depreciatingly as "naked savages," but that they were destitute of clothes, was certainly no disadvantage in a climate where the frame of the European loses its elasticity so that every additional ounce appears a burden, and a listless apathy steals over the mind even of the most resolute and energetic. Again, writers have spoken slightingly of the discipline of the Ashantees, but the facts point to a different conclusion. Sir Garnet Wolseley is of opinion that the discipline of the Ashantee Army that opposed him at Amoaful, was "perfect, death being the punishment of any infraction." A Staff-officer, who watched the march of a party of one hundred and fifty Ashantees at Ordahsu, mistook them for men of Wood's Regiment. He says:—"Their arms were all sloped; every man was closed up to what we call fronting distance; the pace was quite regular, though much slower than our quick march, and except for that, and the fact that they were all talking, they moved as do our best drilled soldiers."

But on no ground more than that of cost is the comparison of the Expeditions of 1868 and 1873-4, in favour of the latter. The British tax-payer is not likely soon to forget the Abyssinian bill of nine

millions he was called upon to pay; but, as gratitude is one of the least common of virtues, he has probably not sufficiently considered how greatly he is indebted to Sir Garnet Wolseley who, when successive Governors and Prime Ministers had "muddled" the country into an Ashantee War, brought us out of our difficulties at the very moderate charge of £900,000—a large portion of which was swallowed up by Captain Glover's subsidiary Expedition, being one-tenth the cost of the Abyssinian imbroglio. Yet, though drawing this comparison, we hope fairly, to Lord Napier's disadvantage, we would be the last to deny, in the latter case, the great risk incurred, where failure would have been fatal to our interests and prestige in the East, and the striking merit of the march to Magdala, achieved by as high-minded, brave, and accomplished a soldier as any wearing her Majesty's uniform.

The Nemesis that overtook King Koffee Kalkalli, and wrought the destruction of the seat of his power, though its visitation was of a less dramatic character than that which induced the tyrant Theodore, in an access of frenzied despair, to take his own life, forms a striking episode of modern history. The result, in both cases alike, was complete and crushing, and the flames that lit up the blackened rock of Magdala and the sombre forests of Ashantee, read a lesson to the savage tribes of East and West Africa, which they are not soon likely to forget; at the same time, also, the prowess of our soldiers and the skill of their leaders,

testified to the world that England was not so effete as her detractors, domestic and foreign, chose to imagine, but that British Generals and British soldiers, like their sires, could illustrate the art of war under conditions as novel as they were difficult.

Sir Garnet Wolseley, in his final despatch to Lord Kimberley, says of the Ashantee power, "that no more utterly atrocious Government has ever existed on the face of the earth. Their capital was a charnel-house; their religion a combination of cruelty and treachery; their policy the natural outcome of their religion." And of the results of the War he says:—"I believe that the main object of my Expedition has been perfectly secured. The territories of the Gold Coast will not again be troubled with the warlike ambition of this restless Power. I may add that the flag of England from this moment will be received throughout Western African with respectful awe, a treatment which has been of late years by no means its invariable fate among the savage tribes of this region."

That this end has been accomplished there can be no doubt, and that it has been effected at so small a cost in life and treasure, is due to the genius of Sir Garnet Wolseley, whose skilful conduct of the Expedition has added a bright page to our annals, and one that may be read with pride by his countrymen, and be studied with advantage by the student of military history.

The first Regiment to land in England from the

Gold Coast, was the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, which arrived at Spithead on the 18th of March. The Regiment had sailed with a strength of six hundred and fifty officers and men, and landed five hundred and three strong, the difference representing the cost in death and sickness of service on the Gold Coast for three months. The 23rd, together with detachments of Royal Artillery and Royal Marine Artillery, landed at Portsmouth on the 20th of March, and were enthusiastically received by the towns-people, the ships and Regiments in garrison uniting to pay them honour. But Portsmouth reserved her best welcome for the 42nd Highlanders, who, having been quartered in the town, had left behind them their families, as well as numberless friends. The 42nd, which sailed six hundred and eighty-seven strong, had, during their brief absence, besides losses in action, upwards of six-tenths of their strength in hospital, and landed from the 'Sarmatian' on the 23rd of March, to the number of thirty-one officers and five hundred and thirty-nine men.

The last to arrive at Portsmouth was the 'Himalaya,' with the Royal Engineers and Rifle Brigade, who received similar honours to those accorded to their brethren in arms. The Rifles had landed at Cape Coast with a strength of thirty-three officers and six hundred and fifty-two men, of whom no less than twenty-two officers and two hundred and ninety-eight men had been admitted into hospital. On their re-

embarkation at Cape Coast, only sixteen officers and two hundred and seventy-seven men were returned fit for duty, owing to the marching being continuous since leaving Fommanah for Coomassie, on the 29th of January, and they landed on the 26th of March with a strength of twenty-seven officers and four hundred and eighty-three men.

All three Regiments were inspected within a few days of their arrival, by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, who paid them a well-deserved compliment on the state of efficiency in which they had returned from active service.

The 'Manitobah' steamed into Portsmouth on the 20th of March, and, on the following morning, Sir Garnet Wolseley landed, accompanied by his Staff and most of the Special Service officers who had sailed with him in the 'Ambriz.' At his request, his arrival and time of landing had been kept secret, so that, being in mufti, he was able to proceed by the first train to London without having to pass through the ordeal of a public reception, or popular ovation. Just as he was about to start a crowd began to collect, and, as the train quitted the station, a ringing cheer told the successful General what manner of welcome the people of Portsmouth would have accorded him and his companions had they given them the chance. On his arrival in London, Sir Garnet immediately reported himself at the War Office, where he had an interview with Mr. Gathorne Hardy, and then proceeded to

Fleming's Hotel, where Lady Wolseley* was awaiting his arrival.

On the following day, the General, having received the commands of Her Majesty, who had already telegraphed her congratulations to him at Madeira, proceeded to Windsor, where he was met at the station, on behalf of the Queen, by General Ponsonby, Private Secretary; Colonel Gardiner, Equerry in Waiting; and Sir John Cowell, Master of the Household. Sir Garnet, after remaining in conversation with the Queen about two hours, returned to town.

Monday, March 30th, was a day to be remembered with pride by the General and his little Army, as they received a double honour—the public approval of Her Majesty, as expressed by her reviewing the troops at Windsor, in the presence of the Legislature, and a Vote of Thanks from both Houses of Parliament.

The Review was held in the large open space between Queen Anne's Ride and the Long Walk, and the troops, as they arrived from Portsmouth, Shorncliffe, Winchester, and Woolwich, marched by the Castle Hill and through the High Street, both bright

* Lady Wolseley, as soon as intelligence arrived in London of the losses incurred during the three days' fighting before Coomassie, wrote a letter to the *Times*, on the 7th of March, initiating a subscription in aid "of the widows, children, and families generally dependent on the brave soldiers and sailors who have fallen in battle, or been victims to the climate in West Africa;" and headed the list by a subscription of fifty guineas from herself, and a like sum from Sir Garnet Wolseley.

with flags and lined deep with an enthusiastic crowd, to their respective stations. Shortly before two o'clock, all were in a state of ready expectancy, and Sir Garnet Wolseley, riding a fine white Arab, and surrounded by his Staff, rode off towards the north corner of the ground to receive the Queen. The troops were all at "Attention," as the royal *cortège* swept down the Long Walk. Her Majesty, accompanied by the Princess of Wales, the Duchess of Edinburgh, and Princess Christian, drove up in an open carriage drawn by four greys, while by her side rode the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Arthur, the Duke of Cambridge, and the Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenberg Strelitz. In a second carriage were the Princesses Louise and Beatrice, and Prince Leopold.

Thus, escorted by the 2nd Life Guards, with a numerous and brilliant Staff, the Queen, amid continuous cheers, drove rapidly up to the Royal Standard, while Sir Garnet Wolseley's little Army, under his command for the last time, gave the usual salute. The Queen now drove down the ranks, the Special-Service officers being placed on the right of the line. After the inspection was completed, Her Majesty returned to the saluting point, and the troops were formed into a hollow square, when Sir Garnet, having dismounted, was invested by the Queen with the insignia of the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, and of a Knight Commander of the Bath. Sir Archibald Alison was then presented to Her Majesty,

and also Lord Gifford who was decorated with the Victoria Cross.

The Duke of Cambridge, by command of the Queen, then expressed Her Majesty's thanks to the assembled troops for their gallant services during the campaign; after which the Queen took her station beneath the Royal Standard, while her gallant soldiers, breaking up from the hollow square formation, marched past to the enlivening strains of the Regimental bands.

First rode the Staff, and then, alone, Sir Garnet Wolseley, who, carrying his sword to the salute, reined up by the side of the Queen. In front of the Brigade advanced Sir Archibald Alison, on foot, his only arm being in a sling. The Royal Artillery came first, then the Royal Engineers, and then the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, to the time-honoured strains of "The British Grenadiers," and headed by their goat. The tune now changed, the bagpipes struck up "Hieland Laddie," and every pulse beat quicker as the "Black Watch" marched proudly past in their gay array of tartans and plumes. A third time the air was changed, and to an even livelier quick step, "Ninety-Five," the 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade—the old 95th Regiment —went by, looking wonderfully serviceable and well after their recent hard work and exposure. The rear was brought up by the Army Service and Army Hospital Corps, equally useful, if less picturesque, branches of the Service.

The march past over, once more the troops were

formed in line, the Staff in the centre, with Sir Garnet Wolseley at their head. Slowly the long line advanced to within about fifty yards of the Royal carriage, when the troops were halted and arms were ordered. Sir Garnet, with one rapid glance to the right and left to see that all was ready, now repeated the ceremony he so recently performed within the market-place of Coomassie. Under far different surroundings, in the presence of an assemblage as dissimilar as it is possible to imagine, the successful General raised his hat in the air, and, calling for three cheers for the Queen, received a response given with true soldierlike heartiness and precision, the multitude of spectators echoing this spontaneous ebullition of loyalty. As the Queen drove away, once more the strains of the National Anthem burst forth, and the troops saluted; and so ended one of the most interesting of the many reviews that have been held in the Royal Park of Windsor.*

In the evening of the 30th of March, the benches and galleries of the Houses of Parliament were crowded, while the leaders of the Government proposed, in fitting terms, the Vote of Thanks to the gallant Ashantee Army and its skilful leader, for the "exemplary skill with which he planned, and the dis-

* Shortly after, Her Majesty held a review at Gosport of the sailors and marines who had returned to this country; and, as a special mark of her approval of their conduct, the Queen, at Windsor Castle, conferred with her own hand upon nine seamen the medal designed to mark conspicuous gallantry in the Ashantee War.

tinguished courage, energy, and perseverance with which he conducted the recent Expedition into Ashantee, resulting in the expulsion of the enemy's army from the British Protectorate, the defeat, by Her Majesty's Forces, of the Army of the King of Ashantee, and the capture and destruction of Coomassie." The Duke of Richmond having moved the Vote of Thanks in the Lords, the Duke of Cambridge addressed the House, in his capacity of Commander-in-Chief, and spoke of Wolseley as having always displayed "the true instincts of a soldier." Very happily conceived were the speeches in which Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone moved the Thanks in the House of Commons.

The important question of rewards and honours to the officers and men of the Expedition, now came up for consideration, and it cannot be said that the Government erred on the side of ingratitude. Five officers received the Ribbon of the Bath, twenty-five the C.B., and five the C.M.G. All field officers and captains who had distinguished themselves, received brevet promotion.

As the amount realized by the sale of loot, was inconsiderable, the troops and seamen received a gratuity of thirty days' pay, in lieu of prize money. A medal was instituted for the Ashantee War, and Her Majesty testified the great personal interest she takes in all that concerns the honour and welfare of her soldiers, by making certain suggestions in the design.*

* On one side is the head of the Queen, with the legend "Victoria

Sir Garnet Wolseley was offered the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, which, however, he declined, but accepted the second grade; and also the Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George, of which Order he was already Knight Commander for his Colonial services in the Red River Expedition. Sir Garnet, who held the local rank of Major-General while employed on the Gold Coast, was still only a Brevet-Colonel in the Army, his substantive rank being "Major half-pay, late 90th Regiment;" he was now promoted by Special General Order, to the rank of Major-General "for distinguished service in the field."*

Regina." On the reverse side is a representation of a struggle in the Ashantee forest between some native warriors in the foreground and a few British soldiers, clad in the uniform adopted for the Ashantee Expedition, in the background. There is a bar for "Coomassie," and another for "Amoaful." The ribbon is black and yellow, which colours were selected in honour of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh, as being those of the Russian national flag.

* The following are the dates of Sir Garnet Wolseley's various commissions in the Army:—Ensign 12th Foot, 12th of March, 1852; Ensign 80th Foot, 13th of April, 1852; Lieutenant 80th Foot, 16th of May, 1853; Lieutenant 84th Foot, 27th of January, 1854; Lieutenant 90th Foot, 24th of February, 1854; Captain 90th Foot, 26th of January, 1855; Brevet-Major, 24th of March, 1858; Major (half-pay), 15th of February, 1861; Major 90th Foot, 6th of August, 1861; Major (half-pay), 14th of January, 1862; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 26th of April, 1859; Brevet Colonel, 5th of June, 1865; Major-General (local), 6th of September, 1873; Major-General, March, 1874, ante-dated to 6th of March, 1868; and Lieutenant-General, 25th of March, 1878.

The prospect as regards pecuniary emolument, was certainly not dazzling, as Wolseley's pay, until removal to the "fixed establishment" was £400 a-year, the unattached pay of a general officer being twenty-five shillings a-day, or £456 5*s.* per annum. However the Government, interpreting the wishes of the country, and the precedent usually followed in such cases, rewarded the successful soldier, who had extricated them from a serious and most perplexing difficulty, by the bestowal of something more substantial than ribbons and crosses, and, on the 20th of April, a motion was made in the House of Commons, for the bestowal of a grant of £25,000. Mr. Disraeli also offered him a baronetcy, which was respectfully declined. Perhaps the value of the reward was lessened by the consideration that at the time the Premier offered an hereditary distinction to the victorious General, whose achievements he had described in picturesque terms, and of whose skill in the conception and execution of his plan of campaign, Mr. Gladstone declared that history afforded no more striking example—at this very time, the cynical author of "Coningsby," as if to show the true estimate in which he held the "cognizance of the red hand," conferred baronetcies broadcast among his followers and others, who had "spent laborious days" in amassing large fortunes, which they expended in "living at home at ease," reserving a portion, mayhap, for profuse expenditure in contesting a seat when the

Conservative party sat on the left hand of the Speaker. Such public spirit, or that other form, which induces a Lord Mayor to lavish vast sums in entertaining a foreign sovereign, may only receive an adequate recognition in a baronetcy—but if so, there is nothing astonishing in the fact of a soldier, who has served his country in all quarters of the globe, respectfully declining the honour.

Not that there was any choice between the Conservative and Liberal Governments, the "ins" and the "outs," in this question of hereditary rewards; for the latter, rendered desperate by their sudden exodus from office, had signalised their exit by a perfect shower of baronetcies, conferred on political supporters with a haste that had its ludicrous, no less than its reprehensible, side. In the *sauve qui peut* which followed their retreat from the Treasury benches, a chosen few happily managed to find shelter from the wreck of the Liberal cause within the portals of the House of Lords, in the "serene atmosphere" of which they will, doubtless, "rest and be thankful." But others were made peers and baronets, such as drawing-room soldiers, country gentlemen having the qualification of broad acres, or political supporters who had contested successfully—or unsuccessfully, as the case might be—vacant seats, and whose large expenditure of private means, and admirable consistency in voting according to the behests of "whip," called for some reward from their masters. But what services had these honourable and

right honourable gentlemen rendered their country that they should be pitchforked into peerages and baronetcies? Has England so greatly benefited by the contentions of party, and the haste of private persons to amass fortunes, that hereditary distinctions should be lavished on political nonentities and City Mayors, while soldiers, like Sir Charles Napier, the conqueror of Scinde, or, to take a more recent example, Sir Hope Grant, who have fought and conquered on historic fields, should be suffered to pass away without such acknowledgments?

Sir Garnet Wolseley had no ambition other than to attain eminence in his profession; he was, before all things, a soldier, and to the military art he was devoted, not for the sake of the emoluments and honours usually attaching to success, but from a sense of duty. Hence he was able to refuse without a pang, a baronetcy and the highest honours of the Bath, and, by adopting this course, he showed his wisdom in avoiding the acceptance of too many honours, which would only tend to excite feelings of jealousy among the less successful of his brothers-in-arms.*

Wolseley was not suffered to be any length of time in England before he was subjected to a very severe course of those public dinners, with the concomitant evil of speech-making, to which all eminent naval and military commanders are doomed on their return fresh from the field of their glory. It is an irksome, if an

* See Appendix D.

ancient, custom, and it would seem almost a pity that it should be rigidly enforced in cases in which, so far as regards the wishes of the person principally concerned, it would be more in consonance with his feelings were it "honoured rather in the breach than the observance."

The first public banquet was given at the Mansion House, on the 31st of March, when he was accompanied by the officers of his Staff, and by a large number of the officers of the Regiments and Corps of the Ashantee Army. The occasion was a memorable one, for the company, which was large and very distinguished, included their Royal Highnesses Prince Arthur and the Duke of Cambridge, and it was the first occasion since his return from the scene of his labours and successes, that Sir Garnet had been afforded an opportunity of laying before the nation his own views on some of the matters that had engrossed the public attention during the past few months. He spoke with a fluency of diction, and an ease of manner, not frequently met with among officers of the Service, who are usually more at home wielding the sword than when exhibiting their oratorical powers in the presence of an expectant and critical audience.

Two City Companies, the Clothworkers and Grocers, conferred their honorary freedom on Sir Garnet Wolseley, and entertained him at dinner, and the members of the United Service Club gave him a banquet, at which were present their Royal Highnesses

the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge (who presided) and Prince Christian, and about one hundred and forty noblemen and gentlemen, including the Secretaries for War and First Lords of the Admiralty of the late and present Governments. The Duke of Cambridge having proposed the health of the guest of the evening, Sir Garnet made a speech, in which (not having the fear of the reporters before his eyes,) he was in a position to inform an appreciative and keenly critical audience, of the considerations that had guided him in quitting Coomassie so hurriedly, and which have been already placed before the reader when treating of that event.

Sir Garnet Wolseley was a guest at the annual banquet of the Royal Academy, when he was honoured by having his health proposed in the most flattering terms by the Heir to the Throne. He was also *fêted* by his countrymen at Dublin, and received honorary degrees from the Universities on two successive days, the 16th and 17th of June, the occasions being those known as "Commemoration" at Oxford, and "Commencement" at Cambridge.

The undergraduates at the latter University cheered vociferously when Sir Garnet Wolseley was introduced to the Chancellor, (the Duke of Devonshire); and when, on the following day, he was present at the Oxford Commemoration, to receive the honorary degree of D.C.L., his reception was not less enthusiastic. The spectacle in the Sheldonian Theatre was of a most

brilliant character, being in marked contrast to the dull decorum of the Cambridge Encœnia, though the unruly and senseless conduct of the Oxford alumni, compared but unfavourably with the orderly demeanour of the Cantabs.

The Corporation of the City of London, having shortly after his return from Ashantee, voted Sir Garnet Wolseley the freedom, accompanied by a sword of honour,* the presentation took place on the 22nd of October, at the Guildhall, and was conducted with all the ceremony usual on the rare occasions, when potent sovereigns and successful generals have been similarly honoured.

The list of the latter includes some of the greatest

* This sword is a beautiful specimen of the goldsmith's art, irrespective of its intrinsic value. The handle, of massive and handsome design, is formed of figures representing Wisdom and Truth, while recumbent figures of Fame and Victory form the guard. The scabbard is enriched with the arms and monogram of Sir Garnet Wolseley and of the City, with several groups of figures, representing the triumph of Valour over Tyranny, Britannia encouraging the Natives to energy and resistance, and trophies of Ashantee instruments of warfare. The blade bears the following inscription, surrounded by an ornamental border:—"Presented by the Corporation of London to Major-General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., in recognition of his gallant services in the British Army, and especially in reference to the distinguished ability and gallantry displayed by him in his command of the Expedition to the Gold Coast, by which he obtained results conducive to peace, commerce, and civilization on the Continent of Africa." The whole of the work is richly chased in the highest style of art, and is executed in silver-gilt, enriched with fine gold and enamel.

soldiers this country has produced,—for the City authorities have ever jealously guarded the admission into their valhalla of heroes,—and reads almost like an epitome of our military history. The roll commences before the time of Monk and Marlborough, and, beginning with the first year of this century, includes the following names:—Sir Ralph Abercrombie, fresh from his achievements in the West Indies, and just before he embarked for that Expedition to Egypt, destined to be fatal to himself, but glorious to his country. Sir David Baird, who, with General Harris and Colonel Wellesley, beat down the power of Tippoo Sultan at Seringapatam, and wrested Cape Colony from the Dutch. The Iron Duke and his Lieutenants, Graham and Beresford, and others; the bluff old Blücher, called by his soldiers, "Marshal Forward;" Barclay de Tolly and Platoff, the bold and remorseless leader of the Don Cossacks; and the Austrian General Swartzenburg, the victor of Leipsic,—a remarkable group, being the military representatives of the allied nations, whose sovereigns visited the Prince Regent in 1814. Our Indian triumphs supplied some of the most noted recipients of civic swords of honour. Among these were Nott, Sale, and Pollock, the three veterans who upheld our honour in Affghanistan after it had been dragged in the mire through the incompetence of other commanders. Sir Charles Napier, a year later, earned his sword for his marvellous campaign in Scinde, and then the handsome and grizzled old

warrior, Lord Gough, who retrieved his laurels at Goojerat, and Lord Hardinge, the hero of Albuera and Ferozeshur, where the sceptre of empire was nearly wrested from our hands by the soldiers of the Khalsa; and Sir Harry Smith, the victor of Aliwal. Sir William Williams was the next recipient for his defence of Kars, aided by Lake and Teesdale; and then there appeared upon the scene, to receive a reward he had earned by fifty years' hard service in Spain, America, China, India, and the Crimea, that fine veteran who, unaided save by his good sword and brave heart, had carved for himself a name and a place in the peerage of his country—Lord Clyde, who was quickly succeeded by his brother-in-arms and equal in fame, that Bayard of the Indian Army, *sans peur et sans reproche*, Sir James Outram, both so soon to lie in the Abbey. Last on this roll of glorious names, was Lord Napier of Magdala, the conqueror of the Abyssinian Theodore, and the friend of Outram, whose high opinion of his military talents has been fully justified. And now there came into the City, to receive the civic honours, a General, young in years, when compared with any of those who preceded him, but not unworthy to enroll his name among theirs, as that of a soldier who had done the State some service on many fields, and in varied climes.

Sir Garnet Wolseley was escorted to the Council Chamber by the mover and seconder of the resolution conferring the Freedom of the City, and was enthusias-

tically greeted by the audience, who rose to receive him; having shaken hands with the Lord Mayor, he took the place assigned him on the left of the chair, and the quaint formalities of initiation of citizenship were then gone through.

The ceremony began by the Town Clerk reading the Resolution of the Common Council, passed on the preceding 30th of April, which ran as follows:—"Resolved unanimously, that the Honorary Freedom of the City, with a sword of the value of one hundred guineas, be presented to Major-General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., in recognition of his gallant services in the British Army, and especially in reference to the distinguished ability and gallantry displayed by him in his command of the Expedition to the Gold Coast, by which he obtained results conducive to peace, commerce, and civilization on the Continent of Africa. And this Court desires also to record its admiration of the patient endurance of hardship exhibited, and the valuable co-operation and assistance rendered to Sir Garnet Wolseley by the gallant officers and men of both services and of all arms engaged in the Expedition." An officer of the Court then called out the names of the six liverymen, who acted as "Redemption Compurgators," and vouched for Sir Garnet, that he "is a man of good name and fame, that he does not desire the Freedom of this City whereby to defraud the Queen or this City of any of its rights, customs, or advantages, but that he will pay his scot, and bear his

lot, and so they all say." The City Chamberlain now asked if Sir Garnet Wolseley was presented by any of the Livery Companies, when the Master of the Cloth-workers' Company read a certificate to the effect that he had been admitted to the Freedom of that Company. Then Sir Garnet made the time-honoured declaration that he would "be good and true to our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, obedient to the Mayor, and maintain the customs and franchises of the City; that he would keep this City harmless in that which in him is, know no gatherings or conspiracies made against the Queen's peace, but will warn the Mayor thereof, or hinder it to his power."

These formalities over, the Chamberlain, in well-balanced phrases, addressed the General, recounting the eminent services for which the honour was conferred. Sir Garnet then made a suitable reply, which, together with the Chamberlain's address, was ordered to be entered on the Journals of the Court. And so ended the initiation of the junior Freeman* of the City of London.

Soon after Sir Garnet Wolseley's return from Ashantee, he was appointed Inspector-General of the Auxiliary Forces, in succession to Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir James Lindsay, who became

* During the present century, sixty-eight individuals have received the Freedom of the City of London, of whom twenty-six were distinguished soldiers and sailors, twelve representatives of Royalty, the remaining thirty being eminent statesmen, travellers, judges, scholars, and merchants.

Military Secretary to His Royal Highness the Commander-in-chief on the death of General Egerton, only, however, to follow his predecessor, after a very brief occupancy of the post. This office Wolseley held with advantage to the Auxiliary Forces, as acknowledged by the Service Papers, until February, 1875, when he was called upon by the Government to proceed to Natal, and assume temporarily the supreme direction of military and civil affairs in the Colony, the population of which were much excited by the outbreak of Langalibalele's tribe, a vexed question, the merits of which we would not presume to discuss, and the efforts made by Bishop Colenso to obtain from the Colonial Office a reversal of the sentence of banishment passed on that chief, who was accused of rebellion.*

* Bishop Colenso received as much abuse for his action in defending Langalibalele as for his famous work on the Pentateuch. The *Natal Mercury* writes of an article by Mr. T. W. Bowles, in *Macmillan's Magazine* for February, 1875:—"Mr. Bowles surpasses all writers in the inaccuracy of his facts, the absurdity of his opinions, the falseness of his deductions, and the monstrous injustice of his conclusions." Mr. Walter Macfarlane, Speaker of the Legislative Council, addressing his constituents of the County of Estcourt, said of the Bishop:—"He runs amuck, like a drunken Malay, against everything Colonial, publishes a book in England, criticising the Government and its acts; through his access to the public press, he gets his incorrect, one-sided views impressed on the people, converts, it is said, Lord Carnarvon to his views, upsets the Governor on charges which are not first submitted to that officer by the Authorities in Downing-street for explanation or refutation; gets our whole Kafir policy altered, and takes or gets credit to himself among the ignorant and unreflecting for being the only English friend in South Africa of the much injured Kafir."

## CHAPTER III.

### THE NATAL MISSION.

Visit to the Cape—Reception at Durban and Maritzburg—Natal Politics and Parties—The Constitution Amendment Bill—Triumph of Sir Garnet Wolseley's Policy—Progress through Natal—Return to England—Nomination to the Staff of the Expeditionary Army—Appointment as High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of Cyprus—Conclusion.

SIR GARNET WOLSELEY was personally disinclined to accept the honourable, but not very grateful, task of reforming the administration of Natal, but in this instance, as throughout his career, he never suffered his private wishes to stand in the way of a manifest duty, and he left England at four days' notice. He could ill be spared from his important office at the head of the Auxiliary Forces, with the position and requirements of which he had become familiar, and it was rather singular that the Government could not find a Colonial ex-Governor, or a civilian of experience, to set Natal affairs in order; it was, however, considered desirable that the colony should be placed in a state of defence, so that there might be no excuse for a repeti-

tion of the panic into which the white colonists—who only numbered seventeeen thousand as against three hundred and fifty thousand Natives—had been thrown by the recent rebellion, and Lord Carnarvon, instead of applying for the services of a military officer for this special duty, decided upon placing the supreme direction of civil and military affairs in the hands of a man who had recently been tried in the dual capacity, and had come out of the ordeal with enhanced reputation.

Sir Garnet Wolseley sailed in the 'Windsor Castle,' in the latter part of February, accompanied by Mr. Napier Broome as Colonial Secretary, and the following Staff:—Colonel Colley, C.B., who had special experience of Natal affairs between 1859-61; Major Butler, C.B.; Major Brackenbury, R.A., Military Secretary; and Lord Gifford, V.C., aide-de-camp,—all of whom had been tried in the hard Ashantee school, and had certainly not been found wanting. The 'Windsor Castle' made the passage to Capetown in twenty-four and a half days, during which Sir Garnet and his Staff were very comfortable, the ship being well found by her owners, the Messrs. Donald Currie, differing greatly from his experiences in his voyages to China, Canada, and the Gold Coast. At Madeira Sir Garnet met the Channel Squadron, under Admiral Beauchamp Seymour, when the 'Agincourt' saluted him with seventeen guns. At the Cape, Wolseley and his Staff were hospitably entertained by Sir Henry and Lady Barkly, and drove to Constantia, which all visitors to

the Cape know so well, with its beautiful prospect and delicious grapes, and rode "round the Kloof," not less celebrated for its fine mountain and sea views. A few days before Sir Garnet reached the Cape, the flying squadron had arrived from Monte Video, under the command of Admiral Randolph, who had received instructions from the Admiralty to conform to Wolseley's requirements, in the event of the outbreak of a Kafir War, which was anticipated, owing to the excited feelings of the Natives. In order to give due effect to the importance of the Natal Mission, and pay exceptional honour to Sir Garnet, the Admiral, instead of allowing him to proceed in the steamer 'Florence,' placed at his disposal the magnificent frigate 'Raleigh,' of twenty-two guns, Captain G. Tyron, C.B., who had superintended the naval transport department in the Ashantee Expedition.

The 'Raleigh' arrived at Durban on the 29th of March, Easter Monday, and, on the following morning, Wolseley landed, the noble frigate manning yards, and saluting with seventeen guns, while the inhabitants, official and non-official, gave him a most enthusiastic reception. It was only a few days before his arrival, that the colonists learned that the Hero of Coomassie was coming to them as Administrator, and the prospect threw all classes into a fever of excitement. Sir Garnet Wolseley, in reply to a highly encomiastic address of the Mayor, declared that his mission was to establish "a firm Government that shall guarantee perfect

security to the white settler, both in life and property, whilst the great Native population within your province shall feel that their interests are not forgotten."

During his stay of two days at Durban, he visited the camp of the Durban Rifles, and gave two dinner parties to the chief Colonial officials, also taking advantage of his stay to make the acquaintance of the principal inhabitants, and discuss with them the political difficulties of the Colony. Sir Garnet's position was all the more difficult as he was superseding Sir Benjamin Pine, a Governor of considerable experience and great popularity among the colonists, to judge by the many addresses expressing regret at his departure and approval of his policy.* But the Langalibalele difficulty, about which public opinion was so greatly excited, was soon placed in the fair way of settlement by the patriotic course adopted by Mr. Molteno, the Premier of the Cape Ministry, who, in accordance with Lord Carnarvon's desire, agreed to introduce into Parliament, a bill for the release from goal of the Chief,

* Public opinion in England, however, was almost unanimous against the course of the Governor, and this notwithstanding that Mr. T. Shepstone, an able and distinguished statesman—who had unequalled colonial experience as guardian of native interests for a quarter of a century—came to England to lay before Lord Carnarvon his view of the official case, in opposition to that of Bishop Colenso. "Yet," said the *Times*, "there was practically only one conclusion. Everyone who considered the question, no matter what his prepossessions, ended by confessing that the colonists and their Government had been painfully misled."

and his location at Robben Island, so that he would cease to trouble Natal by his presence, or the intrigues of his followers.

On the 1st of April, Sir Garnet Wolseley, with his Staff and Messrs. Napier Broome and Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs, proceeded from Durban to the capital, Pieter-Maritzburg, in a four-in-hand break, doing the distance of fifty-four miles in a little over six hours, considered quite a feat, as the road was bad in places. The *cortège* was escorted for some miles, by a detachment of the Durban Mounted Rifles, and the weather and the scenery being equally beautiful, the drive was most enjoyable; occasionally, on the way from Durban, groups of Kafirs, in a state of nudity, were passed, and saluted Mr. Shepstone, in whom they recognised their able protector. The Natal Carabineers joined the party two miles from the capital which is pleasantly situate among hills, patched with woods in the hollows.

Sir Garnet Wolseley was sworn in on the day of his arrival at Maritzburg, and, on the following day, held an Executive Council, when Mr. Napier Broome was appointed Colonial Secretary, and Major Brackenbury Clerk of the Council. Colonel Colley was also appointed Acting-Treasurer and Postmaster-General, and Major Butler, Acting Protector of Immigrants, both without salary, the holders of these offices being given leave on full pay. To Lord Gifford were relegated the duties of Master of the Household, a post of no small importance

in a Mission where the exercise of tact was almost as necessary in successfully carrying through the delicate work on hand, as talent and firmness. Soon after, another aristocratic addition was made to Sir Garnet's Staff, in Lord Mandeville, eldest son of the Duke of Manchester.

The points upon which new legislation was required, were briefly :—A sounder and fairer Native policy than that in operation, the security of life and property, the promotion of public works and immigration, and, lastly, the amendment of a Constitution which the elected members of the Legislative Council themselves declared to be unworkable. This was the crux of Sir Garnet Wolseley's Mission, and it was one that perhaps few men would have cared to undertake; failure, with which no man likes to have his name associated, was *almost assured*, and such an ending to a distinguished career would be peculiarly galling to an ambitious man like Wolseley, who could say of his diplomatic missions to Manitoba and Ashantee, no less than of his campaigns, *Veni, Vidi, Vici.* He was still young, with a great future before him, and yet, without a thought of self-interest, he undertook a mission in which non-success was anticipated even by the Secretary of State, Lord Carnarvon, who was prepared, if need be, to adopt the extreme course of presenting a bill to the House of Commons, for forcing a new Constitution upon the recalcitrant Council.

The first Session of the Legislative Council of Natal,

under Royal Charter, was opened by Lieutenant-Governor Scott, on the 24th of March, 1857, and since that date seven Councils had been elected. The Council consisted of twenty members, fifteen elected, and five nominated, the latter being the Colonial Secretary, the Secretary for Native Affairs, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer, and the Protector of Immigrants. These five, with the Chief Justice and the Commandant of the Troops, form the Executive Council, which sits under the Presidency of the Governor. The fifteen elected Members of the Legislative Council represented, at this time, an electoral body of only four thousand electors, of whom less than half voted at a General Election—indeed, at the last, for a contested election for the return of two Members for the county of Klif-river, there were only one hundred and twenty-four votes recorded. The elected Members easily preponderated in all divisions of the Council, and, in the previous Session, they had gone so far as to reject the votes of the nominated Members, upon the passing of a bill to amend and declare the Constitution of the Colony, upon the ground that their interest was remote and contingent.

But the chief obstacle to the system of responsible Government, sought for by the colonists, lay in the existence of the Native population of some three hundred and fifty thousand, who would be governed and taxed by a Council, chosen by four thousand electors, whose interests were diametrically opposed to those of the Kafirs.

What the Council was capable of was shown in previous years, by the passing of a Protection Bill and a Census Bill, measures which would doubtless have brought on a Kafir War, had not the Colonial Office disallowed them. On the other hand, it was only just that the Imperial Government should have a voice in the ill-considered legislation of these councillors, as, in the event of an outbreak, the colonists would call for British troops to repress a disturbance caused by such measures as, for instance, that for "utilizing Native locations."

It is always a matter of difficulty to obtain a surrender of power from those who possess it, and this was the task Sir Garnet Wolseley undertook to accomplish. The European Colonists were divided into several separate interests.* There was the sugar and coffee growing interest on the Coast, who required a cheap and constant supply of Coolie labour, and appealed to the Legislative Council for funds to introduce Natives from India. Then there was the up-country sheep-farming interest, which objected to the application of funds for the importation of Coolies, but clamoured for the introduction of white immigrants, and the breaking-up of the Native locations. There was also the trading

* There were four papers in the colony, one of which—the *Natal Witness*, edited by a very clever, but violent, councillor—went so far as to call upon the colonists to take up arms and fight for their liberties. The other papers were the *Natal Mercury*, a moderate and well-written organ, the *Natal Colonist*, and *Times of Natal*.

interests of the towns, who approved the promotion of railways; and, finally, what may be called the "vested interests" of the Legislative Councillors themselves, who received seventeen shillings and sixpence per day during the Session. Added to this, the Colony was torn by discordant opinions—literally, "*quot homines, tot sententiæ*"—on the Native Question, Responsible Government Question, the Coolie Question, the White Immigration Question, the Railway Question, the Land Question, and last, but not least, the Church Question, with its rival Bishops of Maritzburg and Natal.

To concede responsible government to a Colony thus circumstanced, would have been the height of folly; and Lord Carnarvon, so far from doing so, had resolved to increase the number of nominated Members in the Council, so as to secure the balance of power in the hands of the Crown, as the *ex-officio* Members being united and permanent in their position, would be able to control the acts of their colleagues. The history of the past few years amply justified this course. The Government, thwarted by the Council, were compelled to enter into an alliance with the Coast Members, the consideration being the supply of Coolies, and so matters went on in a discreditable, halting fashion. There were continual dead-locks, supplies were withheld, and the Councillors refused to argue questions, but "decided in a Caucus and voted in silence." The Council, in the previous Session, themselves denounced the system as one which had failed to meet the require-

ments of the Colony, or to secure its good government, but whereas a minority clamoured for responsible Government, the mission of Sir Garnet Wolseley was in a contrary sense, namely, to strengthen the Executive, and institute a new Native Police, by which gradually the influence of European magistrates would be substituted for the power of the chiefs.

During the month of April, Sir Garnet went on a tour of inspection to the Coast, when Colonel Colley and Mr. Broome managed affairs during his absence. He visited some of the chief plantations, and, while at Durban, besides transacting business, held levées, and attended regattas, inspections, and banquets, or gave balls and dinners in return. On the 23rd of April, he returned to Maritzburg to prepare for the Session, when a round of gaiety was instituted at Government House, and one of the Opposition papers stated that the popular Governor was "drowning the independence of the country in sherry and champagne."

On the 5th of May, Wolseley opened the Session of the Legislative Council, in a Speech wherein he stated that a modification of the Council was necessary, in the sense of "increasing and assuring the power of the Executive." which was "essential to the present safety and future progress of the Colony." When Sir Garnet had left the Chamber, one of the Councillors rose and called the speech an insult to the Colony, and declared that it merited no reply at all. A writer in the chief Maritzburg paper spoke of Lord Carnarvon, Sir Garnet

Wolseley, and Mr. Broome, as three "howling humanitarian fanatics," and at a large public meeting it was resolved unanimously, that it was the duty of the Government to turn every Kafir out of Natal. Such were the amenities of the conflict upon which Wolseley had entered, and such the views of the Opposition in this Council and Colony.

In the following week the Constitution Amendment Bill, for increasing the nominated Members of the Council from five to fifteen, was brought in, and the debate on the second reading, which lasted for three nights, was heated and acrimonious, though conducted with considerable ability on both sides. When passing through Committee, the Government had to submit to a compromise—which was only carried by a majority of one, and that Member was in such precarious health, that he had to be carried into the House —by which the ten additional nominees were reduced to eight, who were to be chosen from Colonists of two years' standing, with a £1000 property qualification. A few days later, the third reading was carried,* and then the measure was sent home for the Queen's signature before becoming law. At one time, however, failure appeared so assured that Sir Garnet prepared his despatch to the Secretary of State, announcing his

* Soon after the measure was carried, Mr. Ridley, a councillor, and editor of one of the papers—who had attended the meeting in spite of the warnings of his doctor—died of heart-disease. He was a bitter and unsparing, but able, opponent of the Bill.

want of success. Much was due to the ability* of the Government advocates, Messrs. Broome and Gallwey (Attorney-General), Colonel Colley, and Major Butler, who was specially ready and amusing in debate; also to the high *prestige* attaching to the name of Sir Garnet, whose unbounded hospitality in entertaining the leading men and legislators of both political parties, was the theme of praise, while his geniality and fascination of manner won all hearts. During the Queen's birthday week were held the Maritzburg Races and Agricultural Show, to which Sir Garnet Wolseley gave prizes, as he had done at Durban for the Regatta, and also for essays on colonial products. Altogether, what with the round of balls, banquets, and garden-parties at Government House, the ladies of the Colony will long remember the brief administration of the dashing young Governor, with his gay *entourage*, as the most brilliant in colonial events.

The Bill settled, Sir Garnet, accompanied by Mr. Shepstone, Major Brackenbury, and Lord Gifford, went on an extended tour round the up-country districts and Native locations, while Colonel Colley and Major Butler proceeded on semi-official missions to the neighbouring States—the former officer, accompanied by Captain Baker

* The views of the Governor on the questions under consideration, were represented in one of the Natal papers, which was purchased for six months, the leading articles being written by his Staff, among whom were writers of commanding literary attainments, such as Brackenbury, Butler, and Colley.

(late Inspector-General of Police on the Gold Coast), visiting the Transvaal Republic and the Portuguese settlement at Delagoa Bay, and Major Butler, the Orange Free State, returning *viâ* the Diamond Fields and Basuto Land.

According to the Natal mode of travelling, Sir Garnet journeyed in a "buck-waggon," drawn by eighteen oxen; this vehicle, which carries the supplies and *impedimenta*, goes creaking along between ten or twelve miles a day, but it is the only mode of conveyance practicable in this country, as those who have tried horses have found out to their cost. The "buck-waggon" is, however, large and roomy, and, if the traveller possesses sufficient patience to bear the slowness of the rate of progression, he can make himself comfortable at each "out-span." Sir Garnet took ponies with him, so that he was able to ride about the country while the waggon was wending its way, and, the weather being perfect, the trip was most enjoyable. Only one accident happened on the road, at the Tugela River, where the huge vehicle slid over the bank, and turned completely over, smashing the wine cases and crockery, but, luckily breaking no bones.

The first part of the journey lay along the base of the Drakensberg Mountains, and Sir Garnet proceeded to the location of Langalibalele, the famous chief and rain doctor, the *teterrima causa belli*, whose tribe had been broken up in accordance with Lord Carnarvon's in-

structions, and personally inquired into their condition and that of the neighbouring Putili Tribe, who had also been "eaten-up,"—that is, deprived of their cattle—for alleged complicity in the Rebellion. Sir Garnet resolved to restore to them the value of their property in ploughs and seed, as well as cattle and sheep, and also decided to place in each location, an European magistrate to whom the Kafirs could look for guidance, advice, and protection, thus superseding the influence of their chiefs, under whom progress was impossible. By bringing the Natives into contact with civilizing agencies, and by the construction of roads, the allotment of lands to settlers, and the formation of townships, the Kafirs would be gradually reclaimed, while they would experience new wants which could only be satisfied by the earnings of labour. But these changes had to be introduced with tact, or a Native war would result, and this was the problem which required solution at the hands of Sir Garnet Wolseley, who applied to the Home Government to station in the Colony an entire Regiment, instead of a wing, with a battery of light mountain guns, and an increased force of mounted police. The Home Government was fully alive to the danger of the innovations about to be introduced, and directed the 'Adventure,' troop-ship, to call for orders at Durban, on her return voyage from Japan, with a battalion of Marines.

One of the most interesting sights witnessed during his tour, by the Governor and his Staff—which was

increased by the arrival of Lord Mandeville, who had been detained at Maritzburg by a sprained ancle—was a Kafir war dance performed, on the 3rd of July, at Ollivier Hoek, by five hundred and fifty warriors of the Amangurana Tribe, whose location lies between that of the Putili and the Tugela River. The Kafirs, who were dressed in wild and picturesque garb, were formed into seven companies, and, on the completion of the dance, with its accompaniment of singing, Mr. Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs (now Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Administrator of the Transvaal), addressed them in an eloquent speech, which was greatly applauded, pointing out the special honour paid them by the Queen in selecting as her representative, one of her most redoubtable warriors. On the conclusion of the address, writes an eye-witness:—"a salute was given to the Supreme Chief, grand in its intensity and effect."

After six weeks of "trekking" and camping out, Sir Garnet returned to Maritzburg, and immediately commenced preparing for the Session of Council. About twenty-five bills were draughted, dealing with almost every question affecting the welfare of the Colony The principal measure was that relating to the construction of a railway, for which fresh taxes were raised, the Natives contributing £56,000 per annum, instead of £41,000, by the raising of the hut tax from 7*s*. to 14*s*, the marriage tax being remitted. There were also other measures dealing with the Natives;

the colonial estimates were prepared in a different and clearer form; a Committee on Public Departments, consisting of Mr. Broome, Colonel Colley, and Major Brackenbury, drew up a report full of practical recommendations for the facilitation of business; and Major Butler prepared an able report on European Immigration, by which the farms of absentee and do-nothing proprietors were dealt with. Thus, what with Committees and Commissions, added to the conduct of the ordinary business of the Colony, Sir Garnet and his "brilliant staff," as the papers always called his officers, were hard at work from seven in the morning till late in the evening, and even the opponents of the recent reforms recognised the devotion and energy of this talented band of soldiers. At length, just five months from the date of his arrival, the task was completed, and, on the 1st of September, Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had handed over the conduct of affairs to Sir Henry Bulwer, made his farewell speech,* concluding

* Sir Garnet closed his speech with the following remarks:—"No Governor was ever more ably or more loyally supported than I have been, and when, by and bye, the extent of their labours becomes generally known, and when the reforms effected or initiated, as the result of their deliberations have had time to bear fruit, I think it will be admitted that my Staff have not passed their time here in idleness or pleasure, and the overworked and, I may add, poorly-paid officers of the Government will then, I am sure, receive their fair meed of praise. Leave-taking has always been to me the most painful of duties, and to say 'Good-bye' now to Natal requires an effort for which I am unequal. I have seen the lengths and breadths of your land, and I know that it

with an eloquent peroration on the future of Natal, at a banquet given by the Mayor of Durban, at which also were present his successor, and Mr. Froude, the eminent historian, who had been sent by Lord Carnarvon to advocate the Confederation of the South African States, and made a statesmanlike speech on the occasion.

Two days later, amid the regrets of the Colonists,*

is capable of being made one of the brightest jewels in the English crown. It requires no prophetic gifts to foretell what it is destined to be in the future. I can picture it to myself, not many years hence, one great expanse of bending corn from Newcastle to Berea, while every field along your coast line is laden with tropical produce. I can foresee, in the no distant future, your harbour crowded with shipping, the cargoes of which are being conveyed by railway not only to your country districts, but into the interior of the continent, while on every side are to be seen the thriving homesteads of a happy and an industrious people. By some this may be deemed a vision, a dream; but it can be converted into a reality by the men of Natal. No one can long more earnestly for its realization than I do, and in now bidding you farewell, my earnest prayer is that its realization may not be long deferred, and that your manly efforts to bring it about may be crowned with complete success."

That Natal is making astonishing progress, as predicted by Sir Garnet Wolseley in his parting speech, may be gathered from a paper on the present condition of the Colony, by Dr. Mann, read at a meeting of the Society of Arts, in May, 1878, under the presidency of Mr. J. A. Froude.

* *The Standard Mail* wrote:—"After all the bitter party-fights, Sir Garnet leaves the Colony with the high personal reputation with which he came, enhanced, and anything higher than this, in the way of praise, cannot be advanced." The *Mercury* said he had "gained the admiration, as well as the affection, of the whole body of

Sir Garnet sailed for England, accompanied by his Staff—except Mr. Broome, the Colonial Secretary, and Colonel Colley, who proceeded to India to join his Regiment—and at Cape Town a grand public ball was given in his honour, Admiral Lambert and the officers of the Flying Squadron, which had arrived the day before, being present.

On the 4th of October, the 'Windsor Castle,' decked from stem to stern with flags, arrived at Plymouth, where Sir Garnet was received with hearty cheers on landing.

He now resumed his duties at the War Office, but, in November, 1876, was offered by Lord Salisbury, and accepted, a seat at the Council of India where his varied military experience was of eminent service. During the past few years Sir Garnet has frequently presided at lectures on professional subjects, delivered in the Theatre of the Royal United Service Institution, when his remarks have always commanded the assent of the majority of his auditors, owing to the strong common-sense with which they were tinged. This was displayed, to take two recent instances, in the discussion on Lieutenant Graves' paper on "Military Equipment," when he spoke strongly against the present dress and appointments of the British soldier; and at the lecture delivered by Colonel Clive, on the 10th of May last, when he argued against the proposed adop-

colonists." On the day of his departure, he was overwhelmed with addresses and deputations, and the scene at the banquet in his honour, at Durban, will long be remembered.

tion of the Prussian system of two hundred men to a company. Wolseley also wrote two articles in the "Nineteenth Century," which received much attention. The first, a comparison of the French Army in 1870 and 1877, is an exhaustive and detailed survey of the military condition of our neighbours; and the second, on the British Army in 1854 and 1878, is an able and authoritative exposition of our resources and readiness to embark on a war now as compared with our position at the time of the Crimean War. While taking a sanguine view of our military strength, he warns the nation of the "terrible risks it runs under the present system of boy recruits," which, he adds, "is a question for the consideration of Ministers and Members of Parliament; our soldiers are helpless in the matter."

When war between this country and Russia appeared imminent, Sir Garnet Wolseley was nominated Chief of the Staff to Lord Napier of Magdala, the Commander of the Expeditionary Army, and, on the 28th of February, the Press, in announcing the appointment, was unanimous in expressions of approval. But the war-cloud, which, at one time, looked so threatening, was finally dispelled by the labours of the Congress at Berlin; and when, on the 8th of July last, the British public and the world were amazed by Lord Beaconsfield's great *coup*—the Protectorate of the Turkish Asiatic Empire, and the annexation of Cyprus—the announcement in both Houses of Parliament was coupled with the intimation of Sir Garnet Wolseley's

appointment as "Her Majesty's High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief" of this, the newest appanage to the British Crown.

On the following Saturday, the 15th of July, Sir Garnet* left England for Cyprus, *via* Brindisi and Malta, accompanied by Colonels Brackenbury, Baker Russell, and Greaves, who had all served under him in Ashantee; also Colonels Dormer and Maquay, R.E., and Captain McCalmont, 7th Hussars, who had served as a volunteer in the Red River Expedition, his second aide-des-camp being Lord Gifford (then in Ceylon).

The task before him is stupendous, as government of any sort, in our acceptation of the term, there may be said to be none; Cyprus, like other dependencies of

* Sir Garnet's Staff consists of the following officers:—Colonel G. R. Greaves, C.B., half-pay, late 70th Regiment, Assistant Adjutant-General at head-quarters, Chief of the Staff; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Baker Russell, C.B., 13th Hussars, Military Secretary; Captains H. McCalmont, 7th Hussars, and Lord Gifford, V.C., 57th Regiment, Aides-de-Camps; Colonel the Hon. J. C. Dormer, half-pay, late 13th Regiment, from Assistant-Adjutant and Quartermaster-General at Dover, and Lieutenant-Colonel H. Brackenbury, Royal Artillery, Assistant-Adjutant and Quartermaster-Generals; Brevet-Major the Hon. H. J. L. Wood, 12th Lancers, and Captain R. C. Hare, 22nd Regiment, Deputy Assistant-Adjutant and Quartermaster-Generals; Colonel R. Biddulph, C.B., R.A., to command Royal Artillery; Captain J. F. Maurice, R.A., to be Brigade-Major Royal Artillery; Deputy Commissary-General A. W. Downes, C.B., Principal Commissariat Officer; Deputy Surgeon-General Sir A. D. Home, V.C., K.C.B., Principal Medical Officer; and Mr. Herbert, Colonial Office, Private Secretary.

the Porte, was only valued for what could be squeezed out of it, so that Wolseley's labours will be on virgin soil. But these conditions are just what call forth the powers of a man of genius, and he is invested, by his instructions, with plenary powers on all matters, civil and military. We may fairly anticipate, therefore, looking to his antecedents, that he will transform this fair island of the Levant—which in turn has been possessed by Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, Saracens, Venetians, and Turks—into what the mightiest warrior of antiquity anticipated it would become in his hands. In a remarkable passage, Alexander the Great says ("Arrian," Vol. I., p. 99), "And Cyprus, being in our hands, we shall reign absolute sovereigns at sea, and an easy way will be laid open for making a descent on Egypt."

Sir Garnet Wolseley may, without flattery, be said to be indispensable to his country, for whenever the War, Colonial, or Foreign Offices, have on hand some task of more than ordinary difficulty or delicacy, he is called from his desk at the Horse Guards, or India Office, and despatched at a few days' notice to set matters right. Whether it is to conduct a Military Expedition through the untrodden prairies and lonely lakes of North America, or the gloomy forests of Ashantee, or whether it is to undertake a most difficult task of practical statesmanship in Natal or Cyprus, the government of every department of the State call upon this veteran soldier, who, mindful only of his country's weal, responds to the appeal without a moment's hesi-

tation or thought of self-seeking. Though his career of unbroken, and almost unparalleled, success has drawn upon him the usual amount of detraction from those who lack the qualities by which greatness is achieved, yet his countrymen appreciate his patriotism and high qualities, like the Romans, who, says the great orator, Marcus Tullius Cicero, after a time ceased to applaud Cæsar, for "*obstupefactis hominibus ipsâ admiratione compressus erat, et eo prætermissus, quia nihil vulgare dignum Cæsare videri poterat.*"

He is *facile princeps*, not only as a soldier and administrator, but as an author, artist, and surveyor. Critics who cannot gainsay Sir Garnet Wolseley's capacity, and rivals, who view his success with an unworthy feeling of jealousy, speak of him as "a very lucky man." But truth should compel them to own that he has forced his way to the forefront of his profession by sheer hard work and good service, without adventitious aid, or the exercise on his behalf of interest or favoritism. It was no "luck" that induced him, when all appeared lost, to volunteer to lead two storming parties in one day, in Burmah, or that led him, after storming the Mess-House, according to Lord Clyde's orders, to break through the Motee Mahul, and be the first to make an entrance into Lucknow. These deeds were the result of courage and enterprise. Again, it was no luck that induced him, when suffering from wounds and ill-health, to remain throughout that dreary Winter in the trenches at Sebastopol, where, as

an officer writes to us, "he showed the highest capacity as a military engineer in the siege operations."

Again, "in China," writes one who served with him there, "he was one of the eyes of the Expedition in the Quartermaster-General's Department. This was his *métier*, but it is one thing to fill an appointment, and another to fill it so evidently well, that, young as he was, people ranked him with the chiefs of the Army."

It was the reputation that is achieved by good service, and not luck, that led to his selection for the command of the Red River and Ashantee Expeditions, and all the success was due to sheer capacity. When the former Expedition, in its earlier stage, was on the verge of failure, which, indeed, was predicted, even by the most sanguine, what was the quality that urged Wolseley to persevere? And, was it luck, or an inspiration of genius, that induced him, in spite of the adverse opinions of those best qualified to judge, "to take his boats up the Kaministiquia River, and thereby," as General Lindsay officially wrote, "insured the success of the Expedition." Again, when in the Ashantee Campaign, with the aid of "our allies" and a handful of sailors and marines, he forced the enemy to cross the Prah, were his movements guided by the genius of luck or of brilliant strategy? When, later on, owing to circumstances beyond his control—we refer to the wholesale desertion of the carriers—he found his forward movements absolutely paralysed, and the success of the Expedition jeopar-

dised—when he was forced to reduce his already small force, and leave behind a battalion of white troops and the detachment of artillery, was it good fortune, or energy and resolution, that caused him to put his shoulder to the wheel and, with the assistance of Colonel Colley, organize an efficient transport corps? We submit that had a General of the ordinary type, been in Wolseley's position at that crisis, no amount of luck, or even of energy, unless it was guided by good judgment and readiness of resource, would have ensured anything but a complete and ignominious failure, together with a loss of *prestige* on the West Coast and in Europe, that would have been more calamitous than even the expense of a second Expedition in the following year, a contingency which appeared by no means improbable.

The petty habit of depreciating a great success, which is repellant to every generous mind, is due to that frame of mind stigmatized by Thomas Carlyle, who says:—"Show your critics a great, and they begin to, what they call, account for him, and bring him out to be a little, man."

In this record of Sir Garnet Wolseley's military career, enough has appeared to enable the reader to form an opinion of his character and professional qualifications, but we cannot forbear quoting the eloquent words of a distinguished officer, who has had the best opportunities of forming a judgment. Colonel Evelyn Wood, V.C., C.B, said of him, at a lecture

delivered before a brilliant audience at the Royal United Service Institution:—"That the Ashantee Campaign did not end in failure, must be in part attributed to the spirit which animated the forces, and rendered them, like red-hot iron, fervent but pliable in the hands of the master-workman, and in part to the directing power of the master-workman, of whom may be said, as was said by Scott of Napoleon, "He was a sovereign amongst soldiers." His means were limited by time and circumstances; with a handful of men he was required to accomplish a hitherto unattainable feat. In six months he had to re-establish our reputation, lowered by successive humiliations and failures, and to read a lesson in letters of fire to the arrogant and bloodthirsty race who had defied us so long by their weapons of distance, disease, and treachery. It is true of Sir Garnet Wolseley as was written of Pitt, "Few men made fewer mistakes, nor left so few advantages unimproved." To all his other great qualities he joined that fire, that spirit, that courage, which, giving vigour and direction to his soldiers, bore down all resistance. In fine, our success was due to the leader and his choice of able subordinates, who all acknowledged their Chief's superior military genius, as they loyally supported him in everything; and he impressed on all his iron will and steadfast determination to take Coomassie."

All who have once been on his Staff again offer their services when an opportunity presents itself, as the

names of Butler, Huyshe, McCalmont, Brackenbury, Gifford, Greaves, Colley, and others, will testify, and the last named officer consented to serve on the Staff of the Viceroy of India on the proviso that, in the event of an European war, he was to be permitted to join his old Chief of Ashantee and Natal. It must be no ordinary man who can thus bind to him the most distinguished officers of the Service. One who knows him well, and has served with him in the field, an officer of high rank, and a Knight of the Bath, writes to us thus:—"I have had the best opportunities of judging of the man, and I say he is the most perfect character I have ever met; no one can see much of him without having for him a regard which becomes perfect affection; no one could be more unspoilt by his rise; I know no difference in him now from the time when he was a very young Captain—no franker, more magnanimous, fearless man, morally and physically, I think, ever lived."

Other letters we have received, from his old brother officers, and all breathe the same feeling of affection and admiration. As a young officer, wherever he went, and chiefly in his own Regiment, he was universally beloved; everywhere he made friends by his *bonhommie* and soldierly geniality, and those who know him best like him most. Of one trait of character, his generous recognition of merit in others, a brother officer of the 90th Regiment, gives an instance of which he was a witness. "On entering Lucknow," he writes, "I well remember every one saying, 'Wolseley has got the

Victoria Cross!' They heard he had gained it by storming the Mess-House. He said, 'No, I was not the first man in; Bugler —— was!' I daresay you know the affair. I bring it up to show how nobly modest he was. The poor wounded bugler was forgotten by others, but not by his own Captain."

Young in years, yet ripe with a military experience almost unrivalled in the British Army; blessed with an equable temperament, and an iron constitution that seems proof alike against the assaults of a Crimean Winter, or the torrid heats of the Gold Coast; gifted with sound judgment and a thorough mastery of the art of war, theoretically as culled from books, and practically as studied and illustrated in all climes, and under varied conditions; possessing a chivalric courage that has extorted the admiration of witnesses, and confidence in himself, combined with that attribute, which is an unerring indication of the presence of genius, a faculty for inspiring confidence in others—Sir Garnet Wolseley seems to be specially fitted to lead the armies of his country in a great national crisis, should any such unhappily arise.

# APPENDICES.

## APPENDIX A.

### STANDING ORDERS FOR THE RED RIVER EXPEDITIONARY FORCE.

Toronto, 14th May, 1870.

THE Expeditionary Force will proceed from the end of Thunder Bay Road to the Lake of the Woods in boats. It will move by detachments consisting of one or more companies. To each company a brigade of five boats will be attached.

2. The boats will be numbered 1, 2, 3, &c., &c., and the brigades will be distinguished by letters beginning at A.

3. In each boat there will be the following tools and equipment. Two felling axes, one pick-axe, one spade, one shovel, two hand-axes, two Flanders kettles, two frying-pans, two sails, two boat-hooks, two spare oars (making eight in all), four rowlocks, one set of blocks (single and double), one boat lamp, six thimbles for setting poles, one dipper, one rubber bucket, one boat sponge, two cans of paint (black and white), five

pounds of assorted boat nails, one double tin oil can, one tin with pitch, one tarpaulin, fenders, sixty fathoms tow line, one can of mosquito oil, &c., &c., spare plank and tools necessary for repairs. There will also be the cooking utensils, &c., of the boatmen, for which the coxswain of each boat will be responsible. In every boat there will be thirty days' rations for the soldiers and boatmen, besides, also, about one ton of surplus stores.

4. With each brigade there will be a carpenter's chest of tools, and a fishing-net.

5. The scale of rations for every one will be as follows:—One pound of biscuits, or one and a-half pounds of soft bread, one pound of salt pork, or one and a-half pounds of fresh meat, two ounces of sugar, one ounce of tea, half ounce of salt when fresh meat is issued, a third of a pint of beans, or a quarter of a pound of preserved potatoes, one thirty-sixth of an ounce of pepper; the rations of flour when issued to be one and a-half pounds.

6. In each boat there will be three *voyageurs*, one of whom will be the coxswain, and have entire charge of managing the boat.

7. The officer or non-commissioned officer in command of the men in each boat will render him every assistance in doing so, and any one going counter to his advice must understand that he is taking on himself a grave responsibility, which may possibly affect the safety of the whole party.

8. No one, under any pretence, will be allowed to sit on the gunwale of the boats, and all must learn to sit steadily, moving as little as possible when the boat is under weigh, particularly when the boat is in rapid water. When under sail, the sheets must never be made fast, they must invariably be held by the hand.

9. To prevent supplies being sent to wrong places, it must be remembered that all stores belonging to the Expedition have been divided into three classes, X. Y. Z., and marked accordingly; those marked Z. are to taken with the Force when it finally starts from Fort Frances; those marked X. at Fort William.

10. Officers commanding companies will not allow under any pretence whatever, any person not belonging to the Force to be carried in the boats, unless he has a written permission, signed by the officer commanding the Force, or by Lieutenant-Colonel Bolton.

11. The officer in immediate command at the Shebandowan end of the road will be held strictly responsible that no unauthorised person embarks. He will attend at the departure of each brigade of boats to see this order rigidly carried out.

12. Detachments will be posted temporarily at various portages along the route, for the purpose of facilitating the transport of supplies to Fort Frances.

13. They will carry out this duty as follows:—They will daily send back to the nearest portage in rear a sufficient number of boats to carry fifteen tons of

stores: all the boatmen to be employed on this service, supplemented by as many soldiers as the officer commanding on the spot may consider necessary; all soldiers to take their arms and accoutrements with them.

14. One officer will invariably accompany the boats on their duty, and will take with him supplies sufficient for the crews for three days, together with a portion of tools, &c., &c. The remainder of the detachment to be employed daily in carrying over the portage at their post the fifteen tons of stores brought up by the boats on the previous day, and loading them in the boats sent back to receive them by the detachment in front.

15. The day after each detachment has reached its position, it will commence operations by sending back for the surplus stores of the detachment in rear. This will be continued daily, until all the reserve supplies for Fort Frances have been sent forward.

16. The greatest possible care will be necessary in loading and unloading the boats, to guard against them being injured. The Indian *voyageurs* having had great experience in loading canoes, their advice is to be attended to in this matter.

17. Every one concerned must learn that the success of the undertaking depends upon these boats, and if those provided be rendered unserviceable they cannot be replaced.

18. The Colonel commanding will, therefore, have

no alternative but to leave behind the crews of any boats that are rendered unfit for use.

19. Colonel McNeill will be stationed at the Shebandowan end of the road. Special instructions will be issued to him for his guidance.

20. Mr. Meyer will be the Control Officer there to superintend the shipment of stores. He will be responsible for the loading of the boats, and will decide also the description and amount of stores to be sent with each, in addition to those laid down as forming the equipment of each boat. He will hand over to the Captain of each company, the evening before he starts, the complete equipment of his brigade of boats, receiving a receipt from him for it. The officer commanding the company will make an exact copy of the list in his pocket-book, specifying how he has distributed the stores, &c., by boats, and the name of the officer or sergeant in charge of each boat.

Mr. Meyer will also hand over to every officer commanding a company, rations complete for his men and *voyageurs* for thirty days, taking a receipt for the same; a list of these provisions to be also entered by the Captain in his pocket book. These provisions must be distributed throughout the boats, so that in each boat there will be thirty days' rations for every one in it.

21. Mr. Meyer will also hand over to every officer commanding a company, as much surplus supplies (about two thousand pounds weight for each boat) as

his boats can conveniently carry—Mr. Meyer to be the judge on this point—giving him an accurate list of the articles, which will be sent on with the stores when they are passed forward beyond the portage where the company is to be temporarily stationed on the line of route. This list will be signed as correct or otherwise, by all the officers commanding at the several portages, when the stores pass through their posts; any article deficient to be noted on the list.

22. After the last detachment has left, the stores quoted in the margin* will be shipped with as little delay as possible, at the rate of fifteen tons a day. One, or if possible, two days before the last fifteen tons are to be despatched from Shebandowan Lake, Colonel McNeill will notify in writing to all the posts in advance, stating when the last of the reserved stores will be sent through. He will send a written memorandum with the last fifteen tons, saying they are the last.

Upon the receipt of this information (which will be signed by the officer commanding each detachment and forwarded on to the next post,) officers commanding at all posts up the line between Shebandowan and Fort Frances, will proceed without delay to the latter place, taking with them their boats and all their equipments, and the remains of the thirty days' provisions sent originally with them.

* Barrels of flour, barrels of pork, barrels of sugar, bags of biscuits, bags of salt, bags of beans, tins of potatoes, tins of pepper, chests of tea.

23. Upon reaching Fort Frances they will complete their boats with thirty days' rations for all persons with them, and will embark all their surplus stores as the Control Officer, Mr. Mellish, may indicate.

24. As soon as the detachment left at Bare Portage reaches Fort Frances, the two hundred men of the 1st Battalion 60th Rifles, which had been stationed there during this movement, will start for Rat Portage to work at it.

25. By these arrangements, the last detachment that left Shebandowan Lake will reach Fort Frances the day after the last fifteen tons of reserve supplies to be stored there, reach that place.

26. The detachment from Fort Frances will severally start from thence, as soon as relieved by the detachment coming up in rear.

27. Fresh instructions will be issued at Fort Frances with reference to the forward movement from that place.

28. In case of a man falling seriously ill, or being seriously injured whilst the troops are moving to their stations, the medical officer with the detachment will decide whether the illness or injury is of such a nature as to prevent the man from proceeding further. If he pronounces the man as likely to be unfit for work for some time to come, he is to be left behind at the nearest portage where a detachment is to be stationed, in charge of a non-commissioned officer and one man, who will take their arms, accoutrements, &c., &c.,

with them. A weeks' provisions to be left for the three men. All officers commanding detachments passing by them to see that they have always that quantity in their possession.

As soon as the detachment to be stationed at the portage where the sick man has been left arrives, he will be sent with the returning boats to the rear, to be forwarded on to the hospital at Fort William. If there is no medical officer with the detachment, the sick man will be left behind in a similar manner until the arrival of a detachment having a doctor with it.

In both cases the non-commissioned officer and private left with the man will proceed on to join their company as soon as the man has been sent to the rear. The officer commanding the 12th detachment, whilst *en route* between his post at the Kashaboiwe Portage and Fort Frances, will use his own discretion as to whether he will send serious cases of illness to the Hospital at Fort William or take them on with him to Fort Frances. If he can possibly do so, he should send them to the former place.

29. Officers commanding detachments, from the time of their embarking at Shebandowan, will keep a journal of their route, entering the exact hour they start each morning, the hours they halt for meals and start again, the time they reach the halting place for the night, giving the name of the place, the state of the weather, whether they used oars or sails during the day, &c., &c. All irregularities committed by their men to be

recorded. They will also state whether they found the fires made by the previous detachment still burning or not.

30. The officers commanding the several detachments posted at the portages, will encamp their men in as compact order as possible on the end of the portage nearest to Fort Frances, except when, from the marshiness of the ground, or other peculiar causes, there are reasons for departing from this order.

They will pile up their provisions close to the landing place at the Fort Frances side of the portage, covering them over with boat tarpaulins, and doing everything in their power to protect them from the weather.

The boats will remain on the Shebandowan side of the portage, every precaution being taken to secure them at night by their painters to the shore. When there is a good beach they should be hauled up for the night, being launched every morning.

31. Each detachment will have a guard, consisting of at least three men per company. They will mount with arms and accoutrements. Up to Fort Frances the arms for the other men will remain in their arm-chest, unless when for special reasons, the officers commanding detachments may consider it necessary for the men to keep their arms in the tents.

The arms, if kept in these arm-chests, must be frequently inspected by the captains of companies, to see that they are free from rust and in good serviceable order.

32. The greatest possible precautions to be taken to guard against the woods being set on fire. The cooking-places will be established as near the water as possible, and no other fires are to be allowed in the camp without the express permission of the officer commanding the detachment, who will assure himself before giving such permission, that there is no danger to be apprehended.

When on the move, officers commanding companies will be held responsible that all fires are extinguished previous to their leaving a camp.

33. As a rule the *reveille* will sound at three a.m. every morning, and the boats will start as soon after that as possible, the men to have some hot tea before starting. The boats of each brigade must keep as near together as possible, the Captain with his bugler in the leading boat, the senior subaltern and a sergeant in the rear boat.

A halt of one hour will be made at eight a.m., for breakfast; another halt of an hour at one p.m., for dinner. Officers commanding companies may, of course, depart a little from these hours; but under no circumstances, is more than an hour to be allowed for each meal. They will always halt for the night at least one full hour before dark, so that there will be ample time to establish the camp for the night. When on the move it is not advisable to pitch tents except when it rains or threatens to do so; even then, the smallest possible number should be pitched.

34. When it is necessary to track the boats, the crew will be divided into two parties, each consisting of four or five soldiers and one *voyageur.* Sergeants are not to be employed in tracking. These two parties to relieve one another every two hours. Officers and non-commissioned officers in charge of boats will see that the men returning to their boats after tracking, put on their serge frocks at once, which are not to be removed for at least half an hour afterwards.

All officers belonging to the Force will be most careful in impressing upon those under their command, the great necessity there is for cultivating the good-will of the Indians and others employed as *voyageurs.*

Colonel Wolseley will punish with the utmost severity anyone who ill-treats them. The same rule applies to all Indians who may be met on the line of route.

It must be remembered that the Government has made a treaty with them, securing the right of way through their country; all are therefore bound to protect them from injury, and it is of special importance that our intercourse with them should be of the most friendly nature. No Indians but those actually attached to the Force are to be allowed to pass the night in our camps.

With the exception of Paragraphs 12, 13, 14, 15,—the brigades of boats all proceeding at once to Fort Frances—all the above Standing Orders were carried

out in their integrity. Colonel Wolseley also issued the following "Additional Instructions."

"1. It is possible that some of the men embarked at Shebandowan Lake as *voyageurs* are incapable of managing boats. Officers commanding brigades of boats will send back, by the first opportunity that presents itself, any such *soi-disant voyageurs*. It is not enough that they should be able to row, but they must be capable of skilfully managing a boat. We require no assistance in rowing, and passengers cannot, under any circumstances, be allowed to accompany the Expedition. Mr. Dawson has been requested to explain this order to all engaged as *voyageurs*. 2. Before starting each morning, after leaving Shebandowan, the subaltern in charge of the last boat, with a couple of men, will go round the camp to see that nothing has been left behind. 3. At any portage, officers or non-commissioned officers in charge of boats will invariably check over the articles as they are put into their boats, to see that they agree with the lists in their pocket books. No one to go beyond one hundred and fifty yards from the halting-place."

# APPENDIX B.

## LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

Cape Coast Castle, 13th of October, 1873.

SIR,—I have the honour to request that the troops (strength as per margin)* which before my departure from England I requested might be held in readiness for service in the Ashantee Expedition, may be despatched to this station at the earliest possible date after the receipt of this letter.

In making this request, I bear fully in mind the instructions which I had the honour to receive from you before leaving England, and I do not make this demand hastily, or without having freely communicated with those who have experience on the Coast, and knowledge of the immediate circumstances. On the other hand, I remember your desire that my decision as

* Two battalions of Infantry, six hundred and fifty each (one thousand three hundred); detachment Royal Artillery, sixty; detachment Royal Engineers, forty; Administrative Services, fifty; total, one thousand four hundred and fifty.

The above number is exclusive of officers. Two subalterns (but no captain) to be sent with the Royal Artillery, also a double proportion of non-commissioned officers to take charge of small-arm ammunition.

to the employment of European troops should be arrived at, "as soon after my arrival on the Coast as I might be enabled to form it with sufficient knowledge of the circumstances and satisfaction to myself." I have, therefore, consulted all those whose experience and knowledge was at my disposal, and I have studied the question in its various bearings.

From these consultations and this study results my firm conviction of the necessity for the employment of European troops, and of the feasibility of employing them without undue risk, for those purposes which your instructions specify—namely, "to free these settlements from the continued menace of the attacks of the Ashantees, and to accomplish the further objects of my mission."

There is, Sir, but one method of freeing these settlements from the continued menace of Ashantee invasion, and this is to defeat the Ashantee army in the field, to drive it from the protected territories, and, if necessary, to pursue it into its own land, and to march victorious on the Ashantee capital, and show not only to the King, but to those chiefs who urge him on to constant war, that the arm of Her Majesty is powerful to punish, and can reach even to the very heart of their kingdom.

By no means short of this can lasting peace be insured; one truce after another may be made, but they will again and again be broken, for the Ashantees have learnt to believe that they may with impunity invade and lay waste the protected territory, and dwell

there unmolested by the white man, till they arrive under the very walls of our forts.

If the history of former wars with the Ashantees be examined, it will be found that every sign of weakness and every successful effort of ours has been followed by renewed hostilities on their part; and, on the other hand, that the show of military strength alone has brought peace.

It was thus that the Ashantee advance to Annamaboe in 1807 was followed by the invasion of 1811; this again by the advance to Cape Coast Castle in 1817, when the Ashantees were bought off; and this by the insult and invasion of 1823. The sad failure of Sir Charles McCarthy's Expedition in 1824 brought the enemy to the walls of our forts; and again, in 1826, they renewed their attacks. Now, for the first time, they were not only defeated but routed; and the signal victory of Dodowah freed the country for many a long year. The King of Ashantee sent to say "that he found it was no use fighting against white men," and the truce was declared which ended in the peace of 1831.

For twenty-five years, almost the time of a generation, this lesson had its effect. But in 1853, the restless chiefs again urged on the King to war, and the perpetual dread of invasion was renewed. Though happily staved off by the judicious measures of Governor Hill, and a show of strength, the invasion was kept hanging over the heads of the protected tribes,

and the unmeasured threats of the King led to the Expedition which was undertaken in Governor Pine's rule, when a detachment of our African troops marched to, and encamped upon the Prah, and were left there inactive to suffer and to die, till the wreck which remained were recalled at the expiration of five months, three months of which had been passed in a severe rainy season.

From that day to this there has been no peace between the Ashantees and England. No strength has been shown by England, except defensive strength when our forts have been actually attacked. Our Fantee allies who fell back before the enemy, have disbanded and become demoralized. They have lost their confidence in the English power of protection, and in proportion the Ashantees have grown bold and confident. Their forces lie in security within nine miles of our forts, and for six months they have lived on the produce of the land said to be protected by us.

Her Majesty has confided to me the task of insuring a lasting peace. Past history, the experience of those who have watched the condition of the Coast, and my own observation of the actual state of affairs, alike convince me that by no method but such signal chastisement as I have described, can such peace be insured, and that such punishment cannot be inflicted without the assistance of British troops.

It cannot, I think, be doubted that under the influence of civilization and European protection, the

Fantee tribes have grown less warlike and more peaceful than formerly. Yet even in their best times they were no match for the Ashantees. When left alone they were conquered and overrun, and when, later, English officers cast in their lot with them, they could not be induced to turn out their whole strength, for I am able to state that the numbers reported as having taken the field are enormously exaggerated, and that there were never ten thousand men present under arms. Sir Charles McCarthy was outnumbered by the cowardly defection of his Native Allies, and the success of the earlier action of this present year, and the presence of English officers failed to induce the Natives to stand firm. On one excuse or another they retreated before the enemy, whom they now believe to be too strong for them, and against whom they are evidently very reluctant to fight.

I have held interviews with the Kings. I have seen the greedy mercantile spirit in which the war is viewed by them, and the excuses made to delay their departure for the field. They tell me they have little influence in raising their men, that their men prefer trading to fighting, and have gone to far countries to hide. The Cape Coast people actually claim the privilege of being the *last* to turn out to fight the invaders of their country.

In the face of these facts, ignorant as I am as yet of the force which may be raised by the officers employed in recruiting along the Coast, whether it is to

be counted by thousands or by tens only—ignorant as I must also for some time be as to what force the surrounding Kings will produce—and the hour having arrived when on account of the advancing season my decision as to the need of European troops must be made, it is impossible for me to say that my prospects are such that I dare undertake to carry out my mission with Native Forces only, nor would the Government or country hold me excused where the valuable lives of the British officers who have volunteered for this Expedition sacrificed, and the *prestige* of our country lowered by the desertion of these Native Forces, a result which I foresee is too likely were I to rely solely upon them, and give them no nucleus of first-rate material to set them an example, and afford them a point on which to rally.

Under no circumstance, it appears to me, could I rely on such Native troops alone to pursue the war into the enemy's territory; nor would their presence serve to show the power of Her Majesty, as would that of a body of English soldiers.

I am by no means the first high official in this Colony who has seen the necessity for the employment of thoroughly disciplined troops to stop these perpetual Ashantee invasions.

In 1824, after Sir C. McCarthy's disaster, M. Dupuis wrote as follows:—"Government will see the necessity of now doing what ought to have been done long ago. Unless three thousand to four thousand men are sent

out to beat these savages out of hand, they will keep the country agitated until they effect the utter subjugation of the Coast."

In 1853, Governor Hill wrote:—"A disciplined Force should be sent here, as I am perfectly satisfied that one thousand men from the West India Regiment with their bayonets would do more than ten times that number of Natives imperfectly armed and disciplined."

And, in 1863, Governor Pine says:—"That his earnest desire is that a final blow should be struck at the Ashantee power, and the question set at rest for ever as to whether an arbitrary and sanguinary monarch shall be for ever permitted to insult the British flag, and outrage the laws of civilization." He goes on to recommend "that a Force of two thousand disciplined soldiers should be transported to these shores, so that combined with a Native Force of upwards of fifty thousand men, it might march straight on Coomassie."

With these forcible opinions in support of the necessity of trained and disciplined troops, and with your instructions before me, I consider it my duty to state that, in my opinion, the desired effect cannot be attained by the employment of West Indian Regiments alone. In the first place, the moral effect of their presence upon the Ashantees is not to be compared with that which a similar number of Europeans would exert; and, in the next place, they are not physically

by any means as capable of withstanding the climate, still less exertion and fatigue.

It is a well-known fact here that Europeans suffer from the climate less than black men from other localities.

The Medical Reports of the Expedition of 1864 say that "Black troops have none of the hardihood and spirited endurance of the white man. They suffer more from the effects of the climate on their arrival than white men do. They are not accustomed to very onerous duties which they had to perform on this occasion."

And you will find that Captain (now Sir A.) Clarke, in his Report of 1864, strongly advocated the substitution of an European Force for a West Indian Regiment, owing to their suffering less from the climate, having more power of endurance, and being able to do the same work with fewer men. I might also refer you to the opinion of Colonel de Ruvignès, that "the West India troops are worse than useless, and are constantly embroiled with the Natives." I have no wish to depreciate the West Indian Regiments, but I could not enter upon my task with that confidence which is so necessary for success were I not supported by some of Her Majesty's English troops.

I consider, therefore, Sir, that (1) the service required cannot be performed solely by any Force indigenous to the country; and (2) that the service for which I require these troops is of paramount import-

ance to the main object of my mission — viz., the establishment of a lasting peace with the Ashantee nation.

But, Sir, I should not apply for these troops, and I should even prefer to tell you that the mission entrusted to me is incapable of thorough accomplishment, were it not that I am convinced that the service for which I demand the European soldiers can be performed by them without undue risk. I believe, indeed, that the evidence upon this point is irresistible.

Two months, or nearly two months, must elapse before the troops can arrive off Cape Coast Castle. In that time the road, which is now complete to Yancoomassie, will, unless the Ashantees have been more successful than hitherto in preventing its construction, be complete at least as far as the Prah; the Native troops will have attained such organization as I can give them; the transport will be prepared for an advance, and I may even hope, with the aid of the Houssas and these Forces, to have cleared the country on this side of the Prah.

I may, therefore, say that, on the arrival of the troops in these roads about the middle of December, all will be ready for their immediate advance into the enemy's country, and that they shall not be kept inactive for one single day.

I would here again refer to the Medical Report of 1864, which says:—"The effects of the climate depend, to a great extent, on the season of the year." Now,

the weather at this present season is totally different from that experienced during the rains. It is now bright and fine, without excessive heat, and it may be expected to improve from week to week. The troops would arrive soon after the commencement of that season of the year which your instructions describe as the most healthy, viz., the months of December, January, February, and March; and as I guarantee that the operations in which they would be engaged would not last more than six weeks, or at the most two months, they might re-embark on board ship by the beginning or middle of February, and under no circumstances would they be required to remain on shore after the commencement of the unhealthy season.

In regard to the risk to European troops to march up country at this season of the year, there appears to me to be a very strong probability, if not a demonstration, that the country becomes more healthy as the Coast is left.

Colonel Bird, then Acting Governor of the Gold Coast, speaks thus of the Expedition in 1853:—"Hitherto we have been led to believe the inland districts were too unhealthy for the European constitution. This Expedition has proved the fallacy of the belief. During the last two and a-half months the officers who have been engaged in this Expedition have enjoyed better health than they have been accustomed to do on the Coast, and that in spite of ex-

posure to sun and rain, great bodily exertions, and privations which a roving camp like theirs necessarily entails.

I would also refer you to the Memorandum of Lieutenant-Colonel de Ruvignès, dated 25th of April, 1873, wherein he says:—"I have to observe that many officers, myself amongst the number, served without detriment to their health or constitution for long periods in West Africa. I can safely say that it was only during periods of utter inaction on the Coast that I suffered from illness, though when in the interior, in the thick bush of the Fantee country bordering on Ashantee, or in the forests of Akim and Ashantee, with privations and long marches, sometimes thirty miles a day, living in mud huts at one time, at another in open forests, I felt no ill effects, neither did any of the officers who served under my command."

I might multiply similar evidence, but I am unwilling to increase the length of this despatch, for there are other points to be dealt with of great importance. The ill-health of the troops engaged in the Expedition to the Prah of 1864, and the sickness of the Royal Marines, who were engaged in the early part of the present year, have, I submit, produced an exaggerated alarm as to the general influence of this climate upon European health. If the conditions of the Expedition of 1864 to the Prah be examined, they will be found so exceptional as to afford no grounds whatever for the belief that the unfortunate results of that affair

would be repeated in such an expedition as I propose. The Medical Reports of 1864 give the strongest proof of this.

From these Reports we learn the following facts:—

The troops composing the Expedition were remarkably bad subjects; they were not only West Indians, but they were from many causes, shown in these Reports, specially unfit for any severe work. They had landed at the worst season of the year; they had been attacked by fever and dysentery immediately on their arrival at Cape Coast, and had not wholly recovered when marched up country.

They had everything against them; heavy duties to which they were not accustomed, no excitement or interest of any kind, no enemy before them; but they had worse food than usual, and they were encamped on the banks of the Prah in extremely low and marshy ground. Yet even under these conditions they were reported in March, 1864, as in good spirits and fair health, busily employed in erecting stockades, completing huts, and constructing a bridge.

But the subsequent inaction did its work. Depression ensued, and the men became ill, though not till the rains commenced, which set in early and were very severe. The camp became a swamp; and for three months longer were the troops kept inactive in this deadly spot.

The hospital accommodation was of the worst

description—men lying on the wet ground with pools of water under them.

Under such conditions, is it not to be wondered at that a single man escaped alive? and is it not clear that this Expedition affords no ground for supposing that similar sickness would attack picked European troops actively employed on the line of march during the healthy season?

As regards the detachment of Royal Marines, who came out in Her Majesty's ship 'Barracouta,' and were sent home in the 'Himalaya,' I have, in the first instance, to observe, from personal inspection, that the accommodation provided on board that ship (the 'Barracouta') for their transport was not in any respect what European soldiers should be provided with in a voyage to the tropics. There was no light and but little air. The condenser which was constantly at work, was on the same deck and in the same compartment with the troops. The heat and smell from the steam-engine had free access to the place where they were berthed. I should not consider this proper accommodation for troops going even to a cold country, and I have good reason for saying that the men landed in an exhausted condition.

The principal Medical officer, Dr. Home, C.B., V.C., has investigated the question of the sickness of those Marines, and he informs me that he believes their sufferings were exceptional.

They landed at the worst season, and without pre-

paration. They were crowded together in unhealthy, dilapidated barracks at Elmina.

It was the tornado season, and tents could not be pitched, and the medical officer at that time did not consider it desirable to expose the troops to the rain, though Dr. Home is now of opinion that it would have been better to do so than to have so crowded them together. They were exposed immediately on landing to the fatigue of a long night march. They fought a very distressing action at Elmina, and suffered privations of food and rest for some time after the action. But far more potential in producing sickness than all these causes was the fact that they were drenched with surf on landing; and that the boats containing the party which left Cape Coast to be quartered at Elmina grounded on a sand-bank, from which cause the men were detained for two hours under an excessively heavy downpour of rain, most of them, it is believed, afterwards sleeping all night in their wet clothes. These conditions are then, I submit, as in the case with the Expedition of 1863-64, so exceptional as to afford no grounds for the belief that similar sickness would attack picked troops actively employed on the line of march during the healthy season.

I have no desire to underrate the risks to health caused by a long stay in this climate, but not only do I find a remarkable unanimity of opinion here as to the possibility of undertaking a march of limited duration into the interior, under such conditions as I pro-

pose, but I think the existing conditions of health of the troops on this station, show that such an expedition does not involve great risk. I would here remark that notwithstanding all the unfavourable conditions reported as regards the Royal Marines, Dr. Home remarks that their entire non-effective list, all casualties included, was on the thirty-first day after landing, only seventeen per cent., the remaining eighty-three per cent. being thoroughly effective.

In my despatch, I drew your attention to the remarkable healthiness of the troops in camp at Napoleon and Abbaye, as compared with those in barracks at Elmina.

On the 11th inst., Dr. Home reports as under of the troops at Cape Coast and Elmina :—"The health of the troops in the command has improved with the partial cessations of the rains and morning mists (locally called smokes). At Elmina the sick rate per cent. of strength is 6·76. At Cape Coast Castle 11.51 (West Indians in both cases). There is less sickness amongst the European officers."

I have now before me the weekly return of sick of the Abbaye detachment of one hundred men, from the 4th to the 10th of October. It is blank. There was not one case of sickness. The surgeon in charge reports the detachment in camp now from four to six weeks as quite healthy.

These facts prove clearly the fact that while sickness is diminishing throughout the whole Coast, by reason

of the improving season, it is far less in the camps inland than in the barracks on the Coast. Since arriving here, I have received a letter, of which I enclose a copy, from Captain Thompson, Queen's Bays, in which he withdraws the opinion he had expressed to His Royal Highness the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, before leaving England, that Europeans could not live in the bush.

But, Sir, still more strong is the report of Dr. Home, C.B., V.C., the principal medical officer, my responsible adviser on sanitary questions.

I beg to refer you to his despatch to the Director-General of the Medical Department, by which it will be seen that he is of opinion that European troops may be employed without extraordinary risk, under those conditions which I propose—viz., that the men be landed the day they are to march, that every recognised sanitary precaution be taken, as far as possible, and that the longest time the men will remain in the country is two months.

It now remains for me only to repeat my request, that as soon as possible after the receipt of this despatch, the troops above specified may be embarked for this station, and to add that I attach the greatest possible importance to the men being selected for this service, and to good accommodation being provided for them on board ship, so that they may arrive here in thoroughly healthy condition.

Should my request be complied with, and the troops

be despatched, I undertake not to land them, if, in the time which must elapse before their arrival, circumstances should induce me to consider that the object of my mission can be accomplished without their aid; and further, I undertake, should it seem possible to do with any smaller number, not to land one more man than I consider absolutely necessary to the success of my expedition.—I have, &c.,

G. J. WOLSELEY,
Major-General.

The Right Honourable,
The Secretary of State for War,
War Office.

## APPENDIX C.

### NOTES ON BUSH FIGHTING.

THE theatre of operations will be a great forest of gigantic trees, with an undergrowth of bush varying in thickness. At some places men can get through the bush in skirmishing order, at others they will have to use their sword-bayonets to open a path for themselves. All the fighting will be in skirmishing order, the files being two, three, or four paces apart, according to circumstances. When once thus engaged in a fight in the bush, officers commanding battalions, and even officers commanding companies, will find it difficult to exercise much control over their men. For this reason it is essential that the tactical unit should be as small as possible. Every company will therefore be at once divided into four sections, and each section will be placed under the command of an officer or non-commissioned officer. These sections once told off are not on any account to be broken up during the War, nor are their commanders to be changed, except under extraordinary circumstances, and then only by order of the officer commanding the battalion. All details of

duty will be performed by sections, or when only very small guards or pickets are required, by half sections.

In action, as a general rule, three sections only of each company will be extended, and the fourth will form a support in rear of the centre of the company's skirmishing line, and at forty to eighty yards from it. Care must be taken that the support never loses sight of its own skirmishers, and that it conforms to their movements; but its commander must never allow it to become mixed up with the skirmishers, unless it be ordered forward by the officer commanding the company.

The Captain will always be with the skirmishing line, exercising a general control over it, and as the enemy only fight in skirmishing order, it will seldom be necessary to bring forward the support into the skirmishing line. Fighting in the bush is like fighting by twilight; no one can see further than a few files to his right or left. Great steadiness and self-confidence are, therefore, required from every one engaged.

The Ashantees always employ the same tactics. Being superior in numbers, they encircle their enemy's flanks by long thin lines of skirmishers, hoping thereby to demoralize their opponents. The men engaged in our front line should not concern themselves about these flank attacks. They must have the same confidence in their General that he has in them, and depend upon him to take the necessary measures for meeting all such attacks either in flank or rear.

Each soldier must remember that with his breech-loader he is equal to at least twenty Ashantees, wretchedly armed as they are with old flint muskets, firing slugs or pieces of stone that do not hurt badly at more than forty or fifty yards' range.

Our enemies have neither guns nor rockets, and have a superstitious dread of those used by us. In action the two comrades forming each file must always keep together, and the officers commanding sections will use their utmost endeavours to keep their sections from mixing up with those on their right or left. If during the advance through the bush, fire is unexpectedly opened by the enemy concealed behind cover, the men will immediately drop on the knee behind trees or any cover that may be at hand, pausing well before delivering their fire, and taking care to fire low at the spot from which the enemy were seen to fire.

All firing against a concealed enemy should be very slow, and officers and non-commissioned officers in command of sections must spare no efforts to prevent the men wasting their ammunition.

It must be explained to the men that owing to the difficulty of transport, the supply of ammunition beyond the Prah will be very limited, and that every shot fired which is not deliberately aimed, not only encourages the enemy, who would soon learn to despise a fire that did them no injury, but seriously affects the efficiency of the Force, for if ammunition were to run short, a stop would be put to our further advance.

The Major-General must rely upon the intelligence of the soldiers and sailors to husband their ammunition without any efforts from their officers being required. The advance will be made along narrow paths where the men can only march in file, and sometimes only in single file; when an action commences, the troops on the centre path will deploy to the front into skirmishing order, either to the right or left of the path as ordered, upon the leading file; the rear section of each company will always form the support, and officers commanding companies will be careful to lead these deployments so that their front may always be as nearly as possible at right angles to the path they had been marching upon.

All officers will remember that the front will, as a general rule, face north by west, and when at any distance from the path they must guide the direction of their advance by compass. Officers commanding battalions or companies will not order any bugle-call to be sounded in camp, or on the march north of the Prah, except to repeat those sounded on the main road by order of the Major-General commanding; and these, if preceded by any regimental call, will be repeated only by the battalion concerned, and by any battalion that may be operating between the main road and the corps indicated by the call.

When any call is preceded by a regimental call, it may be repeated by every bugler within hearing, except those that may be on duty with the baggage-guard.

Whenever the advance and double is sounded, it is to be understood to order a general advance of the whole front line. The men will then advance, cheering, at a fast walk, making short rushes whenever the nature of the ground will allow of their being made. All such advances will be preceded by a heavy fire of guns and rockets.

On reaching a clearing in the course of an action, or when the enemy is in the immediate neighbourhood, the troops will not cross over the open space until the clearing has been turned, and the bush on both sides of it has been occupied. When once a position has been gained, it is to be held resolutely. In warfare of this nature there must be no retreats.

No village or camp is to be set on fire except by order of the Major-General commanding. Officers and men are reminded of the danger and delay which occur if a village is set on fire before all the ammunition and baggage have made their way through it. All plundering and unnecessary destruction of property are to be strictly repressed; officers are held responsible that when a village or camp is occupied their men are kept together, and prevented from dispersing to seek plunder.

The importance of kindness from all ranks to the friendly Natives who are employed as carriers, cannot be too strongly urged. If the carriers are ill-treated, the troops run imminent risk of being left without food and ammunition. It must never be forgotten by our

soldiers that Providence has implanted in the heart of every native of Africa a superstitious awe and dread of the white man that prevents the negro from daring to meet us face to face in combat.

A steady advance, or a charge, no matter how partial if made with determination, always means the retreat of the eneny. Although when at a distance, and even when under a heavy fire, the Ashantees seem brave enough from their practice of yelling and singing, and beating drums in order to frighten their enemies of their own colour with whom they make war, they will not stand against the advance of the white man. English soldiers and sailors are accustomed to fight against immense odds in all parts of the world. It is scarcely necessary to remind them that when in our battles beyond the Prah they find themselves surrounded on all sides by hordes of howling enemies, they must rely upon their own British courage and discipline, and upon the courage of their comrades.

Soldiers and sailors, remember that the black man holds you in superstitious awe; be cool, fire low, fire slow, and charge home; and the more numerous your enemy, the greater will be the loss inflicted upon him, and the greater your honour in defeating him.

By Order,

G. R. GREAVES,

Colonel, Chief of the Staff.

Head Quarters, Cape Coast Castle,
December 20, 1873.

## APPENDIX D.

### MILITARY AND CIVIL PEERAGES.

IT has been complained, and not without reason, that the Law in England is the chief nursery of the peerage. The professions of Physic and Divinity never produce a lay peer; and the same may be said almost of every other vocation, that of Arms alone excepted. Until about the year 1790, wealth acquired by manufactures or commerce was never dignified directly by a higher title than that of baronet. At present, with some rare exceptions, almost the only sources of titled honours are the law, the possession of great landed estates, and above all, political partisanship in both Houses of Parliament. To these we may add a few coronets, and a very few, comparatively speaking, gained by successful soldiers and sailors.

Up to the reign of Elizabeth, almost the exclusive source of title was the profession of arms. We since find the principle, "Cedant Arma togæ," increasing with civilisation; notwithstanding our extensive wars from 1793 to 1815, we find that the creations of military and naval peers bear no proportion to those of civil.

At the conclusion of the first revolutionary war in 1801, out of twenty-one peerages, only three were conferred upon naval or military persons, and only two of these for strictly military and naval services.

At the peace of 1814, we find a dukedom, a marquisate, an earldom, and four baronies conferred for military and naval services, being seven titles out of twenty-three which the Crown was graciously pleased to bestow.

The Generals created peers for military service since the close of the Great War, have been few indeed. The conqueror of Laswarree was made Lord Lake; Lord Combermere, the captor of Bhurtpoor, received a step in the peerage; and Sir John Keane was created a peer for the brilliant feat of arms at Ghuznee; Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Henry Hardinge gained coronets for their sanguinary battles on the Sutlej, the former receiving a step in the peerage for the crowning victory of Goojerat. For their services during the great Mutiny, Sir Colin Campbell and Sir Hugh Rose were rewarded with the lowest grade of the peerage; and when we have recorded the names of Sir Robert Napier for his Abyssinian Campaign, Sir Edward Lyons, the only Admiral since Lord Exmouth in 1816, for his eminent services during the Crimean War, (the single peerage conferred on an offieer during that momentous struggle), we have exhausted the list of military peers, Sir William Mansfield having been raised to the House of Lords as much for the political support it was sup-

posed he would afford to the Liberal party, as for his services in the field, which were certainly not equal to those of Sir Charles Napier and Sir Hope Grant, who died without receiving any hereditary distinction. To this we might add the baronetcies conferred for services in the field; Sir David Ochterlony for his brilliant generalship in Nepaul; Sir Archibald Campbell, for his conduct of the first Burmese War; General Wilshire, for the storm of Khelat; Sir Walter Gilbert and Sir Harry Smith for meritorious service in the Sutlej Campaign; and Sir George Pollock, after an interval of nearly thirty years, for his services in Afghanistan.

For their achievements during the great struggle in India, baronetcies were also conferred on Sir James Outram and Sir Archdale Wilson, and on the heirs of Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Henry Havelock—a meagre crop of rewards for services rendered by a host of great men whose devotion, skill, and valour were duly appreciated by Continental nations, and who will live in history as long as these virtues are regarded as forming the chiefest bulwark of nations. If we compare these rewards with those conferred for purely political services, we can form an estimate of the relative importance placed by the English people, or rather, we should say, by their rulers, on the services of those who risk their lives for the State, and those who serve their party in the Lower House in some legal or civil capa-

city, or purely by their "voting straight" on divisions affecting the existence of a Government.

By a reference to the Peerage, we find that since the year 1793, when hostilities broke out with France, the following peerages,* for other than military services, were created in each year, exclusive of ninety-three civil peers called to the Upper House during the thirty-two years forming the preceding portion of George III.'s reign.

Between the years 1793 and 1800, thirty peers; in 1800,† twenty-three peers; between the years 1801 and 1815 inclusive, sixty-one. During the remaining four years of George III.'s reign, eight peerages were conferred; in the ten years of George IV.'s reign, forty-three. In William IV.'s short reign of seven years, Lord Grey created twenty-eight peers; Sir Robert Peel four, and Lord Melbourne ten. In Her Majesty's reign Sir Robert Peel, during his two tenures of office, made seven of his supporters peers; Lord Melbourne, continuing the process in which Liberal Prime Ministers appear to be such adepts, created twenty-five; Lord Russell, twice Premier, eighteen, ten of which were in the year 1866; Lord Derby, who was thrice Prime Minister, seventeen, six of the number being in

* In these numbers we do not include the peerages that have become extinct, which are numerous, or the creation of Royal peerages.

† This was the year of the Union with Ireland, and these peerages were mostly created as a reward to supporters for carrying that measure.

the same year, 1866; Lord Palmerston, during his two tenures of power, created twenty-three peerages; Mr. Disraeli, in 1868, raised to the Upper House, or gave a step in the titled hierarchy, to nine of his supporters, and to six during his present Premiership; Mr. Gladstone, during his tenure of power from 1868 to 1874, similarly rewarded no less than thirty-six Liberals, for we exclude the honoured name of Lord Lawrence, and that of Lord Lisgar, who may be said to have gained their peerages by service of an Imperial character, and few would grudge the reward to Lord Cardwell and some other faithful public servants on both sides of the House. This is wholesale "lord-making" with a vengeance, while the number of baronetcies created for political and civil services, or for no service at all, is *legion*.

From this review we would gather that not only is the Order of the Bath—to the creations in which we have not referred, but which was originally established for purely military service—robbed of half its value in the eyes of soldiers and sailors by reason of the intrusion of the civil element, but whereas in olden times it was the shield of war that conferred heraldic honours and hereditary distinctions, we have changed all that in these more civilized days, and while the nation is, more than in the days of chivalry, indebted to the profession of arms for its safety and honour, yet as soon as the soldier and sailor have done their work—which they always have the credit of doing so well, if we are to

believe the vapied speeches and empty compliments bandied about at public dinners when the "Army and Navy" is toasted so enthusiastically by civic dignitaries—these services are quickly forgotten, and an occasional meagre "Birthday Gazette" is considered sufficient reward for the veterans, who see country gentlemen and political nonenities raised to the Upper House in batches of half a dozen at a time.

THE END.

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